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Engraved for S. Campbell's
A Map of
The STATE of
KENTUCKY,
Drawn from the
Best Authorities.
1793.
WESTERN
VIRGINIA
JEFFERS
NELSON
COUNT
NOR
OHIO RIVER
Clarks Grant 150,000 Acres
Wilkinson & Sons return home
Indian Kentucky
Little Kentucky
Drinnan Lick
Eagle
Bear Grass Cr.
Louisville
Rapids
Clarkville
Indian Cr.
Silver Cr.
Salt R.
Floyds Fork
Bashaves C.
Town For
Bards T
Otter Cr.
Doe Run
Plains
Buck Run
Rolling Fork
Beech Fork
Green River
Salt Lick
Middy R.
Pawpaw Cr.
Rough Cr.
Big Chiffy Cr.
Cal Haines Fr.
Mulberry Cr.
Nolin Cr.
Cashers R.
Big Barren
Buff Cr.
Cumberland Mountain
Harmons Station
Vancouvers
Guyendot R.
Big Sandy
Mill Cr.
Lick
Spring
13
12
7
40
39
38
37

THE DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, AND PRESENT STATE OF KENTUCKY:

AND

AN ESSAY

TOWARDS THE

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THAT IMPORTANT COUNTRY:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

I. The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON, one of the first Settlers, comprehending every Important Occurrence in the Political History of that Province.

II. The MINUTES of the PIANKASHAW Council, held at POST St. VINCENTS, April 15, 1784.

III. An ACCOUNT of the INDIAN NATIONS inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their Manners and Customs, and Reflections on their Origin.

IV. A report of the Secretary of State, to the President of the United States; of the quantity and situation of the Lands, not claimed by the Indians nor granted to, nor claimed by any Citizens within the Territory of the United States.

V. Thoughts on Emigration; to which are added Miscellaneous Observations relating to the United States. And a short account of the State of Kentucky.

Being a Supplement to Imlay's description of the WESTERN TERRITORY.

VOL. II.

BY JOHN FILSON. 1747?-1788

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY SAMUEL CAMPBELL,
No. 37, HANOVER-SQUARE.
M,DCC,XCIII.

A Map of
The STATE of
KENTUCKY,
Drawn from the
Best Authorities.
1793.
British Statute Miles.
0 10 20 40 60 80
TERRITORY
Military
Land
French Purchase
of Galliapolis
WESTERN
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
OHIO RIVER
Kentucky River
Salt R.
Green River
Cumberland R.
Licking River
Elkhorn
Big Bone Licks
Blue Licks
Lexington
Louisville
Rapids
Clarksville
Harrodsburg
Danville
Bardstown
Shawanese Town
Logan's Station
Boonsborough
Maysville
Washington
Paris
Frankfort
Versailles
Georgetown
Cynthiana
Millersburg
Mount Sterling
Winchester
Estill's Station
Hartford
Owensborough
Henderson
Shawnee Town
Fort Washington
Fort Hamilton
Fort Jefferson
North Bend
Dunlaps
Little Miami R.
Great Miami R.
Scioto R.
Kanawha R.
Big Sandy R.
Tygarts Valley R.
Guyandotte R.
Big Sandy Creek
Little Sandy Creek
Indian Creek
Cabin Creek
Hockhocking R.
Muskingum R.
Wabash & Erie Canal
Indiana Purchase
Clarks Grant 150,000 Acres
Fayette County
Jefferson County
Woodford County
Bourbon County
Madison County
Mercer County
Lincoln County
Nelson County
Longitude West 10 from Philadelphia

THE DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, AND PRESENT STATE OF KENTUCKY:

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TOWARDS THE

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement; at the request of the author of this book, have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the Public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given: much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the Public. Witness our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784.

DANIEL BOON,
LEVI TODD,
JAMES HARROD.

PREFACE.

THE *generality of thoſe geographers, who have attempted a map, or deſcription of America, ſeem either to have had no knowledge of Kentucky or to have neglected it, although a place of infinite importance: and the reſt have proceeded ſo erroneouſly, that they have left the world as much in darkneſs as before.*

When I viſited Kentucky, I found it ſo far to exceed my expectations, although great, that I concluded it was a pity, that the world had not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper deſcription of it was an object highly intereſting to the United States; and therefore incredible as it may appear to ſome, I muſt declare, that this performance is not publiſhed from lucrative motives, but ſolely to inform the world of the happy climate, and plentiful ſoil of this favoured region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more eaſily when I inform him, that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucky, but having been there ſome time, by my acquaintance in it, am ſufficiently able to publiſh the

truth, and from principle, have cautiously endeavoured to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found. The three gentlemen honouring this work with their recommendation, Col. Boon, Col: Todd, and Col. Harrod, were among the first settlers, and perfectly well acquainted with the country. To them I acknowledge myself much indebted for their friendly assistance in this work, which they cheerfully contributed, with a disinterested view of being serviceable to the public. My thanks are more especially due to Col. Boon, who was earlier acquainted with the object of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I esteemed curious and interesting, and therefore have published them from his own mouth. Much advantage may possibly arise to the possessor of this book, as those who wish to travel in Kentucky will undoubtedly find it a Complete Guide. To such I affirm, that there is nothing mentioned or described but what they will find true. Conscious that it would be of general utility, I have omitted nothing, and been exceeding particular in every part. That it may have the desired effect, is the sincere wish of

JOHN FILSON.

THE DISCOVERY, PURCHASE, AND SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY.

THE first white man we have certain accounts of, who discovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who, in company with some others, in the year 1754, passing down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remains to this day. These men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleasing news of their discovery of the best tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John

John Finley, and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians, by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and sometimes the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Col. Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it to be an interesting object, agreed in the year 1769 to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountaneous wildermess, in a westward direction, they at length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, descried the beautiful landscape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Col. Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations, and returning to camp, informed their companions of their discoveries: but in spite of this promising beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardships and adversity, grew exceedingly disheartened, and was plundered, dispersed, and killed by the Indians, except Col. Boon,

who

who continued an inhabitant of the wilderneſs until the year 1771, when he returned home.

About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of ſeveral gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour weſtward for diſcoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and General Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchaſed from the Five Nations of Indians the lands laying on the north ſide of Kentucky. Col. Donaldſon, of Virginia, being employed by the State to run a line from ſix miles above the Long Iſland, on Holſton, to the mouth of the great Kenhaway, and finding thereby that an extenſive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was ſolicited, by the inhabitants of Clinch and Holſton, to purchaſe the lands laying on the north ſide of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchaſe he completed for five hundred pounds, ſpecie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Iſland on Holſton to the head of Kentucky river: thence down the ſame to the mouth, thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kenhaway; but this valuable purchaſe the State refuſed to confirm.

Richard Henderſon, of North Carolina, being informed of this country by Col. Boon, he, and ſome other gentlemen held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, in March 1775, and then purchaſed from them the lands

lying

lying on the south side of Kentucky river, for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of six thousand pounds, specie.

Soon after this purchase, the State of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money Col. Donaldson had contracted for, and then disputed Mr. Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentleman of another state, in behalf of himself: However for his eminent services to his country, and for having been instrumental in making so valuable an acquisition to Virginia, that state was pleased to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green River, to the amount of two hundred thousand acres; and the state of North Carolina gave him the like quantity in Powel's Valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whose title, if they had any, originated in such a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to possess it; Hence this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly demominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as soon as Mr. Henderson and his friends proposed to purchase, the Indians agreed to sell; and notwithstanding the valuable consideration they received, have continued ever since troublesome neighbours to the new settlers.

SITU-

SITUATION and BOUNDARIES.

KENTUCKY is situated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38° north, and 85° west longitude, and lying within the fifth climate, its longest day is 14 hours 40 minutes. It is bounded on the north by the great Sandy-creek; by the Ohio on the N. W. by North-Carolina on the south; and by the Cumberland mountain on the east, being upwards of 250 miles in length, and two hundred in breadth; and is at present divided into three counties, Lincoln, Fayette and Jefferson; of which Fayette and Jefferson are bounded by the Ohio, and the river Kentucky separates Fayette on its north side from the other two. There are at present eight towns laid off, and building, and more are proposed.

Louisville, at the Falls of Ohio, and Beardstown, are in Jefferson county; Harrodsburgh, Danville, and Boons-burrow, in Lincoln county; Lexington, Lees-town, and Greenville, in Fayette county; the two last being on Kentucky river. At these and many other places, on this and other rivers, inspecting-houses are established for Tobacco, which may be cultivated to great advantage, although not altogether the staple commodity of the country.

RIVERS.

RIVERS.

THE beautiful river Ohio bounds Kentucky in its whole length, being a mile and sometimes less in breadth, and is sufficient to carry boats of great burthen. Its general course is south 60 degrees west; and in its course it receives numbers of large and small rivers, which pay tribute to its glory. The only disadvantage this fine river has, is a rapid, one mile and an half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, called the Falls of Ohio. In this place the river runs over a rocky bottom, and the descent is so gradual, that the fall does not in the whole exceed twenty feet. In some places we may observe it to fall a few feet. When the stream is low, empty boats only can pass and repass this rapid; their lading must be transported by land; but when high, boats of any burthen may pass in safety. Excepting this place, there is not a finer river in the world for navigation by boats. Besides this, Kentucky is watered by eight smaller rivers, and many large and small creeks.

Licking River heading in the mountains with Cumberland River, and the North Branch of Kentucky runs in a N. W. direction for upwards of a hundred miles, collecting its silver streams from many branches, and is about one hundred yards broad at its mouth.

Red

Red River * heads and interlocks with the main branch of Licking, and flows in a S. W. courſe into Kentucky River, being about ſixty miles long, and ſixty yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucky River riſes, with three heads, from a mountainous part of the country. Its northern branch interlocks with Cumberland; runs half way in a weſtern direction, and the other half N. weſterly. It is amazingly crooked, upwards of two hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and fifty yards broad.

Elkhorn is a ſmall river which empties itſelf into Kentucky in a N. W. by W. courſe; is about fifty miles long, and fifty yards broad at the mouth.

Dick's River joins the Kentucky in a N. Weſt direction; is about forty-five miles long, and forty-five yards wide at its mouth. This river curiouſly heads and interlocks its branches with Salt River, Green River, and the waters of Rock-caſtle River.—Salt River riſes at four different places near each other. The windings of this river are curious, rolling its ſtreams round a ſpacious tract of fine land, and uniting almoſt fifteen miles before they approach the Ohio, and twenty miles below the Falls. It is amazingly crooked, runs a weſtern courſe near ninety miles.

Green River interlocking with the heads of

* This river is a principal branch of the Kentucky.

Dick's River, as mentioned above, is alſo amazingly crooked, keeps a weſtern courſe for upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and is about eighty yards wide at its mouth, which is about two hundred and twenty miles below the Falls.

Cumberland River, interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucky, as aforeſaid, and rolling round the other arms of Kentucky among the mountains, in a ſouthern courſe for one hundred miles; then in a ſouth weſtern courſe for above one hundred miles; then in a ſouthern and S. weſtern courſe for about two hundred and fifty more, finds the Ohio, four hundred and thirteen miles below the Falls. At the ſettlements it is two hundred yards broad; and at its mouth three hundred, having paſſed through North Carolina in about half its courſe.

The Great Kenhaway, or New River, riſes in North Carolina, runs a northern, and N. W. courſe for upwards of four hundred miles, and finds the Ohio four hundred miles above the Falls. It is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth. Theſe two rivers are juſt mentioned, being beyond our limits. They run contrary courſes, are exceeding large, and it is worth notice, that Clinch, Holſtein, Nolachucky, and French-Broad rivers, take their riſe between theſe two, or rather weſtward of New River, ſome of them riſing and interlocking with

with it; and when they meet, form what is called the Tenaſee River, which runs a weſtern courſe, and finds the Ohio twelve miles below Cumberland River. It is very large, and has ſpacious tracts of fine land.

Theſe rivers are navigable for boats almoſt to their ſources, without rapids, for the greateſt part of the year. This country is generally level, and abounding with limeſtone, which uſually lies about ſix feet deep, except in hollows, where ſtreams run, where we find the rock in the bottom of the channel.

The ſprings and ſtreams leſſen in June, and continue low, hindering navigation, until November, when the autumnal rains ſoon prepare the rivers for boats, and repleniſh the whole country with water; but although the ſtreams decreaſe, yet there is always ſufficient for domeſtic uſes. There are many fine ſprings, that never fail; every farmer has a good one at leaſt; and excellent wells may eaſily be dug.

NATURE of the SOIL.

THE country, in ſome parts, is nearly level; in others not ſo much ſo; in others again hilly, but moderately, and in ſuch places there is moſt water. The levels are not like a carpet, but interſperſed with ſmall riſings and de-

 clivities,

clivities, which form a beautiful prospect. A great part of the soil is amazingly fertile; some not so good, and some poor. The inhabitants distinguish its quality by first, second, and third rate lands; and scarcely any such thing as a marsh or swamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucky rises, nearly of the size of a mountain.

All the land below the Great Kenhaway until we come near the waters of Licking River is broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in some valleys, and on Little and Great Sandy creeks, where there is some first rate land, but mostly second and third rate. It is said, that near this water is found a pure salt rock. Upon the north branch of Licking, we find a great body of first rate land. This stream runs nearly parallel to the Ohio for a considerable distance, and is about seven miles from the mouth of Limestone Creek, where is a fine harbour for boats coming down the Ohio, and now a common landing. It is sixty-five miles from Lexington, to which there is a large waggon road. The main branch of Licking, is about twenty-two miles from Limestone. On this stream we find some first, but mostly second and third rate lands, and towards its head something hilly. There we find the Blue Licks, two fine salt springs, where great plenty of salt may be made. Round these

licks,

licks, the ſoil is poor for ſome diſtance, being much impregnated with ſalt.

The ſouthern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, ſpread through a great body of firſt, and ſome ſecond rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and ſome ſalt licks, and ſprings. On theſe ſeveral branches of Licking, are good mill-ſeats, and navigation to the Ohio, from the fork down to its mouth. The land is hilly, and generally poor, yet along the ſtreams and in valleys we find ſome excellent land.

The Elkhorn lands are much eſteemed, being ſituated in a bend of Kentucky River, of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek riſes. Here we find moſtly firſt rate land, and near the Kentucky River ſecond and third rate. This great tract is beautifully ſituated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover and many of the ſtreams afford fine mill ſeats.

The lands below the mouth of Elkhorn, up Eagle Creek, and towards the Ohio, are hilly and poor, except thoſe contained in a great bend of the Ohio oppoſite Great Miami, cut off by the big-bone and Bank-lick creeks, interlocking, and running ſeparate courſes. Here we find a great deal of good land, but ſomething hilly.

On Kentucky River we find many fertile valleys, or bottoms along the river, eſpecially

towards its riſe. There is good land alſo on Red River, but towards the heads of this, and Kentucky the ſoil is broken; but even here, we find in valleys, and along ſtreams a great deal of fruitful land. Generally the ſoil within a mile or two of Kentucky River is of the third and fourth rates; from about that diſtance, as we leave it on either ſide; we approach good lands. The country through which it winds its courſe, for the moſt part, may be conſidered as level to its banks, or rather precipices; from the brow of which, we behold the river, three and ſometimes four hundred feet deep, like a great canal. For a more particular account of this, we refer the reader to where we treat of the curioſities of Kentucky.

Lick's River runs through a great body of firſt rate land, abounding every where with cane, and affords many excellent mill ſeats.—Many mills are already built on this ſtream, and will have a plentiful ſupply of water in the dryeſt ſeaſons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are ſimilar to the banks of Kentucky. The ſeveral ſtreams and branches of Salt River afford excellent mill ſeats. Theſe roll themſelves through a great tract of excellent land, but the country from the junction of theſe waters, and ſome miles above towards the Ohio, which may be about twenty-five miles, is level and poor, and has abundance

of

of ponds. For a conſiderable diſtance from the head of this river, the land is of the firſt quality, well ſituated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this and Dick's River, the inhabitants are chiefly ſettled, it being the ſafeſt part of the country from the incurſions of the Indians.

Green River affords excellent mill ſeats, and a conſtant ſtream. This is allowed to be the beſt watered part of Kentucky. On its banks we find many fine bottoms, ſome firſt rate, but moſtly ſecond and third rate lands; and at ſome diſtance, many knobs, ridges, and broken poor land. Below a creek, called Sinking Creek, on this river, within fifty miles of Ohio, towards Salt River, a great territory begins, called Green River Barrons, extending to the Ohio. It has no timber, and little water, but affords excellent paſturage for cattle. On ſome parts of this river, we find abundance of cane, ſome ſalt licks, and ſulphureous and bituminous ſprings. South of Green River in the lands reſerved for the continental, and ſtate troops of Virginia, an exceeding valuable lead mine has lately been diſcovered. Iron ore is found on Rough Creek, a ſtream running into this river. The part of Cumberland River which is in the Kentucky country, traverſe a hilly poor land, though in ſome parts we find good ſoil along its ſides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kenhaway and

Tanaſee

Tenaſee are not in the Kentucky country, and therefore do not come properly within my plan.

The reader by caſting his eye upon the map, and viewing round the heads of Licking, from the Ohio, and round the heads of Kentucky, Dick's River, and down Green River to the Ohio, may view, in that great compaſs of above one hundred miles ſquare, the moſt extraordinary country upon which the ſun ever ſhone.

The Ohio River, the great reſervoir of all the numerous rivers that flow into it from both ſides, has many fine valleys along its ſides; and we obſerve that oppoſite to each of them there is a hill; theſe hills and bottoms changing ſides alternately. It only remains under this head to inform the reader that there is a great body of firſt rate land near the Falls, or Rapids,, called Bare-graſs; and it will be ſufficient juſt to mention that the country on the N. W. ſide of the Ohio, is allowed by all travellers to be a moſt fertile, level country, and well watered.

AIR AND CLIMATE.

THIS country is more temperate and healthy than the other ſettled parts of America. In Sum-

Summer it wants the ſandy heats which Virginia and Carolina experience, and receives a fine air from its rivers. In Winter, which at moſt only laſts three months, commonly two, and is but ſeldom ſevere, the people are ſafe in bad houſes; and the beaſts have a good ſupply without fodder. The Winter begins about Chriſtmas, and ends about the firſt of March, at fartheſt does not exceed the middle of that month. Snow ſeldom falls deep or lies long. The weſt winds often bring ſtorms, and the eaſt winds clear the ſky; but there is no ſteady rule of weather in that reſpect, as in the northern ſtates. The weſt winds are ſometimes cold and nitrous. The Ohio running in that direction, and there being mountains on that quarter, the weſterly winds by ſweeping along their tops, in the cold regions of the air, and over a long tract of frozen water, collect cold in their courſe, and convey it over the Kentucky country; but the weather is not ſo intenſely ſevere as theſe winds bring with them in Pennſylvania. The air and ſeaſons depend very much on the winds, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture.

SOIL

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

THE ſoil of Kentucky is of a looſe, deep black mould, without ſand, in the firſt rate lands about two or three feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In ſome places the mould inclines to brown. In ſome the wood, as the natural conſequence of too rich a ſoil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large ſtumps in a field lately cleared. Theſe parts are not conſiderable. The country in general may be conſidered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Thoſe which are peculiar to Kentucky are the ſugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great plenty, and furniſhes every family with plenty of excellent ſugar. The honey-locuſt is curiouſly ſurrounded with large thorny ſpikes bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a ſweet taſte, and makes excellent beer.

The coffee-tree greatly reſembles the black oak, grows large, and alſo bears a pod, in which is encloſed coffee. The papwa-tree does not grow to a great ſize, is a ſoft wood, bears a fine fruit, much like a cucumber in ſhape and ſize, and taſtes ſweet. The cucumber-tree is ſmall and ſoft, with remarkable leaves.

leaves, bears a fruit much reſembling that from which it is named. Black mulberry-trees are in abundance. The wild cherry-tree is here frequent, of large ſize, and ſupplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here alſo is the buck-eye, an exceeding ſoft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and ſome other kinds of trees not common elſewhere. Here is great plenty of fine cane, on which the cattle feed, and grow fat. This plant in general grows from three to twelve feet high, of a hard ſubſtance, with joints at eight or ten inches diſtance along the ſtalk, from which proceed leaves reſembling thoſe of the willow. There are many cane brakes ſo thick and tall that it is difficult to paſs through them. Where no cane grows, there is abundance of wild-rye, clover, and buffalo-graſs, covering vaſt tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries. The Shawaneſe ſallad, wild lettuce, and pepper-graſs, and many more as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are ſeen the fineſt crown-imperial in the world, the cardinal flower, ſo much extolled for its ſcarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the Winter months, the plains and valleys are adorned with variety of flowers of the moſt admirable beauty. Here is alſo

found

found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia, which has an extenſive ſmell, and continues to bloſſom and ſeed for ſeveral months together.

This country is richeſt on the higher lands, exceeding the fineſt low grounds in the ſettled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common fifty and ſixty buſhels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible perſons, that above one hundred buſhels of good corn were produced from an acre in one ſeaſon. The firſt rate land is too rich for wheat till it has been reduced by four or five years cultivation.

Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucky, has lately experienced the production of ſmall grain, and affirms, that he had thirty-five buſhels of wheat, and fifty buſhels of rye per acre.

I think, in common, the land will produce about thirty buſhels of wheat and rye, upon a moderate computation, per acre; and this is the general opinion of the inhabitants. We may ſuppoſe that barley and oats will increaſe abundantly; as yet they have not been ſufficiently tried. The ſoil is very favourable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes, and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the ſecond, third, and fourth rate lands are as proper for ſmall grain. Theſe accounts of ſuch amazing fertility may, to ſome, appear incredible, but are cer-

certainly true. Every husbandman may have a good garden, or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleases. The soil, which is not of a thirsty nature, is commonly well supplied with plentiful showers.

Iron ore and lead are found in abundance, but we do not hear of any silver or gold mine as yet discovered.

The western waters produce plenty of fish and fowl. The fish, common to the waters of the Ohio, are the buffalo-fish, of a large size, and the cat-fish, sometimes exceeding one hundred weight. Trout have been taken in Kentucky weighing thirty weight. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fish, and eel, are here in plenty. Suckers, sun-fish, and other hook-fish, are abundant; but no shad, or herrings. We may suppose with a degree of certainty, that there are large subterraneous aqueducts stored with fish, from whence fine springs arise in many parts, producing fine hook-fish in variety. On these waters, and especially on the Ohio, the geese and ducks are amazingly numerous.

The land fowls are turkeys, which are very frequent, pheasants and partridges*. The parroquet, a bird every way resembling a parrot, but much smaller; the ivory-bill woodcock, of a whitish colour, with a white plume,

* What is called a partridge by most people in America is a quail, and what is called a pheasant is a species of grouse.

flies ſcreaming exceeding ſharp. It is aſſerted, that the bill of this bird is pure ivory, a circumſtance very ſingular in the plumy tribe. The great owl reſembles its ſpecies in other parts, but is remarkably different in its vociferation, ſometimes making a ſtrange, ſurpriſing noiſe, like a man in the moſt extreme danger and difficulty.

Serpents are not numerous, and are ſuch as are to be found in other parts of the continent, except the bull, the horned, and the mockaſon ſnakes. Swamps are rare, and conſequently frogs and other reptiles, common to ſuch places. There are no ſwarms of bees, except ſuch as have been introduced by the preſent inhabitants.

QUADRUPEDS.

AMONG the native animals are the uſus, or zorax*, deſcribed by Ceſar, which we call a buffalo, much reſembling a large bull, of a great ſize, with a large head, thick, ſhort, crooked horns, and broader in his forepart than behind. Upon his ſhoulder is a large lump of fleſh, covered with a thick boſs of long wool and curly hair, of a dark brown colour. They do not riſe from the ground as our cattle, but ſpring up at once upon their feet; are of a

* Biſon.

broad

broad make, and clumsy appearance, with short legs, but run fast, and turn not aside for any thing when chased, except a standing tree. They weigh from five to ten hundred weight, are excellent meat, supplying the inhabitants in many parts with beef, and their hides make good leather. I have heard a hunter assert, he saw above one thousand buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once; so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives. There still remains a great number in the exterior parts of the settlement. They feed upon cane and grass, as other cattle, and are innocent harmless creatures.

There are still to be found many deer, elks, and bears, within the settlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are also panthers, wild cats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and musk-rats: nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, such as foxes, rabbits, squirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, polecats, and opossums. Most of the species of the domestic quadrupeds have been introduced since the settlement, such as horses, cows, sheep and hogs, which are prodigiously multiplied, suffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

INHABITANTS.

AN accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of sixteen, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of tithables; from which, by allowing that those so enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucky contains, at present, upwards of thirty thousand souls*: so amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall; which gives a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time. The inhabitants, at present, have not extraordinary good houses, as usual in a newly settled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hospitable, and very complaisant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs, and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the State of Virginia, they are governed by her wholesome laws, which are virtuously executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of Assembly of Virginia, to be founded under the con-

* This estimate, the reader will recollect, was made in 1784.

duct

duct of truſtees in Kentucky, and endowed with lands for its uſe. An excellent library is likewiſe beſtowed upon this ſeminary, by the Rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The Anabaptiſts were the firſt that promoted public worſhip in Kentucky; and the Preſbyterians have formed three large congregations near Harrod's ſtation, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their paſtor. At Lexington, 35 miles from theſe, they have formed another large congregation, and invited the Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Virginia, to undertake that charge among them. At preſent there are no other religious ſocieties formed, although ſeveral other ſects have numerous adherents. But from theſe early movements it is hoped that Kentucky will eminently ſhine in learning and piety, which will fulfil the wiſh of every virtuous citizen.

CURIOSITIES.

AMONGST the natural curioſities of this country, the winding banks, or rather precipices of Kentucky, and Dick's Rivers, deſerve the firſt place. The aſtoniſhed eye there beholds almoſt every where three or four hundred feet of a ſolid perpendicular lime-ſtone rock; in ſome parts a fine white marble, ei-

ther curiouſly arched, pillared, or blocked up into fine building ſtones. Theſe precipices, as was obſerved before, are like the ſides of a deep trench, or canal; the land above being level, except where creeks ſet in, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar. It is only at particular places that this river can be croſſed, one of which is worthy of admiration; a great road large enough for waggons made by the buffalo, ſloping with an eaſy deſcent from the top to the bottom of a very large ſteep hill, at or near the river above Lees-Town.

Caves are found in this country amazingly large; in ſome of which you may travel ſeveral miles under a fine limeſtone rock, ſupported by curious arches and pillars: in moſt of them runs a ſtream of water.

Near the head of Salt River, a ſubteranean lake or large pond has lately been diſcovered. Col. Bowman ſays, that he and a companion travelled in one four hours till he luckily came to the mouth again. The ſame gentleman mentions another which operates like an air furnace, and contains much ſulphur. An adventurer in any of theſe will have a perfect idea of primæval darkneſs.

There appear to be great natural ſtores of ſulphur and ſalt in this country. A ſpring at Boonſburrow conſtantly emits ſulphureous particles, and near the ſame place is a ſalt ſpring. There is another ſulphureous ſpring upon

upon Four Mile Creek, a third upon Green River, and many other in different places, abounding with that uſeful mineral.

There are three ſprings or ponds of bitumen near Green River, which do not form a ſtream, but diſgorge themſelves into a common reſervoir, and when uſed in lamps anſwer all the purpoſes of the fineſt oil.

There are different places abounding with copperas, eaſily procured, and in its preſent impure ſtate ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants: and when refined, equal to any in the world.

There is an allum bank on the ſouth ſide of Cumberland River, ſituated at the bottom of a cliff of rocks projecting over it. In its preſent ſtate it has the appearance and poſſeſſes the virtues of that mineral, and when purified is a beautiful allum.

Many fine ſalt ſprings conſtantly emit water, which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine ſalt. At preſent there is but one, called Bullet's Lick, improved, and this affords ſalt ſufficient for all Kentucky, and exports ſome to the Illinois. Drinnons-lick, the Bigbone, and the Blue-licks, ſend forth ſtreams of ſalt water. The Nob-lick, and many others, do not produce water, but conſiſt of clay mixed with ſalt particles: To theſe the cattle repair, and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing herds of Buffalo

which

which reſort thither, by their ſize and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, eſpecially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to ſome populous city; the vaſt ſpace of land around theſe ſprings deſolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near thoſe ſprings are chiefly hilly. Theſe are truly curioſities, and the eye can ſcarcely be ſatisfied with admiring them.

A medical ſpring is found near the Great-bone Lick, which has perfectly cured the itch by once bathing; and experience in time may diſcover in it other virtues. There is another of like nature near Drinnon's Lick.

Near Lexington are to be ſeen curious ſepulchres, full of human ſkeletons, which are thus fabricated. Firſt on the ground are laid large broad ſtones; on theſe were placed the bodies, ſeparated from each other by broad ſtones, covered with others, which ſerve as a baſis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built, without morter, growing ſtill narrower to the height of a man. This method of burying appears to be totally different from that now practiſed by the Indians. At a ſalt ſpring near Ohio River, very large bones are found, far ſurpaſſing the ſize of any ſpecies of animals now in America. The head appears to have been about three feet long, the ribs ſeven, and the thigh bones about

about four; one of which is repoſited in the library in Philadelphia, and ſaid to weigh ſeventy-eight pounds. The tuſks are above a foot in length, the grinders about five inches ſquare, and eight inches long. Theſe bones have equally excited the amazement of the ignorant, and attracted the attention of the philoſopher. Specimens of them have been ſent both to France and England, where they have been examined with the greateſt diligence, and found upon compariſon to be remains of the ſame ſpecies of animals that produced thoſe other foſſil bones which have been diſcovered in Tartary, Chili, and ſeveral other places, both of the old and new continent. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in regions ſo widely different, and where none ſuch exiſts at preſent, is a queſtion of more difficult deciſion. The ignorant and ſuperſtitious Tartars attribute them to a creature, whom they call Moimon, who, they ſay, uſually reſides at the bottom of the rivers, and of whom they relate many marvellous ſtories; but as this is an aſſertion totally diveſted of proof, and even of probability, it has juſtly been rejected by the learned; and on the other hand it is certain, that no ſuch amphibeous quadruped exiſts in our American waters. The bones themſelves bear a great reſemblance to thoſe of the elephant. There is no other terreſtrial animal

now

now known large enough to produce them. The tusks with which they are equally furnished, equally produce true ivory. These external resemblances have generally made superficial observers conclude, that they could belong to no other than that prince of quadrupeds; and when they first drew the attention of the world, philosophers seem to have subscribed to the same opinion.—But if so, whence is it that the whole species has disappeared from America? An animal so laborious and so docile, that the industry of the Peruvians, which reduced to servitude and subjected to education species so vastly inferior in those qualities, as the Llama and the Paca, could never have overlooked the elephant, if he had been to be found in their country. Whence is it that these bones are found in climates where the elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even subsist in his wild state, and in a state of servitude will not propagate? These are difficulties sufficient to stagger credulity itself; and at length produced the enquiries of Dr. Hunter. That celebrated anatomist, having procured specimens from the Ohio, examined them with that accuracy for which he is so much distinguished. He discovered a considerable difference between the structure of the bones, and those of the elephant. He observed from the form of the teeth, that they must have belonged to a carnivorous animal;

whereas

whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to such sustenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with the teeth necessary for its use: and from the whole he concluded, to the satisfaction of naturalists, that these bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whose race is probably extinct, unless it may be found in the extensive continent of New Holland, whose recesses have not yet been prevaded by the curiosity or avidity of civilized men.—Can then so great a link have perished from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable at enemy to the human species, an animal as large as the elephant, the tyrant of the forest, perhaps the devourer of man! Nations, such as the Indians, must have been in perpetual alarm. The animosities among the various tribes must have been suspended till the common enemy, who threatened the very existence of all, should be extirpated. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps singular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the system of nature.

RIGHTS OF LAND.

THE proprietors of the Kentucky lands obtain

tain their patents from Virginia, and their rights are of three kinds, viz. Thoſe which ariſe from military ſervice, from ſettlement and pre-emption, or from warrants from the treaſury. The military rights are held by officers, or their repreſentatives, as a reward for ſervices done in one of the two laſt wars. The ſettlement and pre-emption rights ariſe from occupation. Every man who, before March 1780, had remained in the country one year, or raiſed a crop of corn, was allowed to have a ſettlement of four hundred acres, and a pre-emption adjoining it of one thouſand acres. Every man who had only built a cabin, or made any improvement by himſelf or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of one thouſand acres where ſuch improvement was made.

In March 1780, the ſettlement and pre-emption rights ceaſed, and treaſury warrants afterwards iſſued, authorizing their poſſeſſor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them, wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

The mode of procedure in theſe affairs may be inſtructive to the reader. After the entry is made in the land-office, there being one in each county, the perſon making the entry takes out a copy of the location, and proceeds to ſurvey when he pleaſes. The plot and certificate of ſuch ſurvey muſt be returned to the office within three months after the ſurvey is made, there to be recorded; and a copy of the record

record must be taken out in twelve months, after the return of the survey, and produced to the assistant register of the land office in Kentucky, where it must lie six months, that prior locators may have time and opportunity to enter a caveat, and prove their better right. If no caveat is entered in that time, the plot and certificate are sent to the land office at Richmond, in Virginia, and three months more are allowed to have the patent returned to the owner.

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extensive western territory has been disputed by some, but without reason. The western boundary of that state, by charter, restricted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, is fixed upon the Ohio River. She has purchased the soil from the Indians, has first settled it, and established wholesome laws for the regulation and government of the inhabitants; and therefore we conclude, that the right of Virginia to Kentucky is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE of KENTUCKY.

A CONVENIENT situation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches, and happiness of every country great-

ly depend. I believe many conceive the situation of Kentucky to be unfavourable in this respect. I confess when I first visited this country I was of the opinion of other misinformed men, that the best channel was from Philadelphia or Baltimore, by the way of Pittsburg, and from thence down the Ohio; and upon account of the difficulties and expences attending this route, for which there is no remedy, that goods would ever be dear. This opinion I have since reprobated, as the effect of ignorance of the trade up the Mississippi from New Orleans, or Mantchac, at the river or gut Iberville.

Those who are acquainted with America know the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the southern continent. These are the principal channels through which that extensive region, bathed by their waters, and enriched by the many streams they receive, communicate with the sea, and may be truly considered as the great passage made by the Hand of Nature for a variety of valuable purposes, and principally to promote the happiness and benefit of mankind; amongst which, the conveyance of the produce of that immense and fertile country lying westward of the United States is not the least. A short description of these rivers, and some others flowing into them, are objects submitted to the reader's attention, in order to form a just

juſt idea of the favourable commercial circumſtances of that important country.

The Ohio River begins at Pittſburg, 320 miles weſt of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monangehela Rivers, and, running a winding courſe of S. 60° Weſt, falls into the Miſſiſſippi 1074 miles, by the meanders of the river, below Pittſburg. The only obſtruction to navigation on this river are the Rapids, as deſcribed before under the deſcription of the Kentucky rivers; but they are paſſed in ſafety when the ſtream is high.

The moſt remarkable branches compoſing the head waters of Ohio are Red-ſtone Creek, Cheat River, and Yohogania. Theſe waters are navigable to a conſiderable diſtance above Pittſburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from Great Kenhaway, which is one hundred and ninety ſix miles and a half below Pittſburg, the ſtream is navigable moſt of the year. Down this river great quantities of goods are brought, and ſome are conveyed up the Kentucky rivers, others on horſeback or in waggons to the ſettled part, and ſold on an average at one hundred pounds per cent advance.

The current of the Ohio deſcends about two miles an hour in autumn, and when the waters are high, about four miles. Thoſe of the Kentucky rivers are much the ſame, and

without rapids, and are of immenſe value to the country, affording fiſh and fowl, and tranſporation of the produce of the country to the beſt market. Theſe rivers increaſe the Ohio more depth than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than one and a half mile in width, and enters the Miſſiſſippi in a S. W. direction with a ſlow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. E. direction, and afterwards in a S. W. having been a little before joined by a greater river called Miſſouri, which runs in an eaſtward direction through Louiſiana, and afterwards communicates to the Miſſiſſippi, its own muddy and majeſtic appearance. The depth is, in common, eight or ten fathoms, until you approach its mouth, which empties itſelf by channels into the Gulf of Mexico. Here the navigation is dangerous, on account of the many iſlands, ſand-bars, and logs, interſperſed in its mouth, which is about twenty miles wide. This diſadvantage may be remedied almoſt in the ſame manner that the ſtream was diſconcerted. The conflict between the ſea and this mighty river, which brings down with its ſtream great numbers of trees, mud, leaves, &c. cauſes them to ſubſide and form ſhoals. One of theſe trees, ſtopped by its roots or branches, will ſoon be joined by thouſands more, and ſo fixed, that no human force is able to remove them. In time

they

they are conſolidated, every flood adds another layer to their height, forming iſlands, which at length are covered with ſhrubs, graſs, and cane, and forcibly ſhift the bed of the river. In this manner we ſuppoſe moſt of the country on each ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, below the Iberville, to have been formed, by iſlands uniting to iſlands, which in a ſucceſſion of time have greatly encroached on the ſea, and produced an extenſive tract of country. If ſome of the floating timber at the mouths of this river were moved into ſome of the channels, numbers more would incorporate with them; and the current being impeded in theſe, the whole force of the river uniting, one important channel would forcibly be opened, and ſufficiently cleared to admit of the moſt excellent navigation..

About ninety-nine miles above Orleans is a fort, now called Mantchac by the Spaniards; formerly Forte Bute by the Engliſh, who built it. Near this is a large gut, formed by the Miſſiſſippi, on the eaſt ſide, called Iberville; ſome have dignified it with the name of River, when the Miſſiſſippi, its ſource, is high. This is navigable, at moſt, not above four months in the year for the firſt ten miles; for three miles further it is from two to ſix feet in autumn, and from two to four fathoms the remaining part of the way to lake Maurepas, receiving in its courſe the river Amit, which is

navigable for batteaux to a conſiderable diſtance.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles in length, and ſeven in breadth, and there is a paſſage of ſeven miles between this and Lake Pontchartrain.

I have reaſon to believe that the time is not far diſtant when New Orleans will be a great trading city, and perhaps another will be built near Mantchac, at Iberville, that may in time rival its glory.

Lake Pontchartrain is about forty miles long, twenty-four broad, and eighteen feet deep. From this lake to the ſea the channel is ten miles long, and three hundred yards wide; and the water deep enough to admit large veſſels through theſe lakes, and their communications. This place, if attended to, might be of conſequence to all the weſtern country, and to the commerce of Weſt-Florida: for it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants and traders of the weſtern country would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry, and the produce of their ſoil, as it makes a conſiderable difference in their voyage, and ſaves labour, money, and time. Experience will doubtleſs produce conſiderable improvements, and render the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, either by theſe lakes, or New Orleans, nearly as cheap as any other. That the Miſſiſſippi can anſwer every valuable purpoſe of trade and commerce is proved already to a demonſtration by experience.

A prodigious number of Iſlands, ſome of which

which are of great extent, are interſperſed in that mighty river; and the difficulty in aſcending it in the ſpring, when the floods are high, is compenſated by eddies or counter currents, which moſtly run in the bends near the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity againſt the ſtream, and aſſiſt the aſcending boats. This river is rapid in thoſe parts which have cluſters of iſlands, ſhoals and ſand-banks; but the rapidity of theſe places will be no inconvenience to the newly invented mechanical boats*, it being their peculiar property to ſail beſt in ſmart currents.

From New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, batteaux, carrying about 40 tons, have been rowed by eighteen or twenty men in eight or ten weeks, which, at the extent, will not amount to more than five hundred pounds expence, which experience has proved to be about one third of that from Philadelphia. It is highly probable that in time the diſtance will

* This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and recommended to government by two gentlemen of firſt rate abilities, Mr. Charles Rumſey and Dr. James M'Macken. Their propoſals are, "to conſtruct a ſpecies of boat, of the burthen of ten tons, that ſhall ſail, or be propelled by the force of mechanical powers thereto applied, up the ſtream of a freſh water river the diſtance of between 25 and 40 miles a day, notwithſtanding the velocity of the water ſhould move at the rate of ten miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of three hands."

be

be exceedingly ſhortened by cutting acroſs bends of the river.

Charlevoix relates, that at Coupee or Cut-point, the river formerly made a great turn, and ſome Canadians, by deepening the channel of a ſmall brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuoſity of the ſtream was ſo violent, and the ſoil of ſo rich and looſe a quality, that in a ſhort time the point was entirely cut through, and the old channel left dry, except in inundations, by which travellers ſave 14 leagues of their voyage. The new channel has been ſounded with a line of thirty fathoms without finding bottom. When the diſtance is ſhortened, which I believe may readily be done, and the mechanical boats brought to their higheſt improvement, the expences of a voyage from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio will be attended with inconſiderable expence. Now we know by experience that forty tons of goods cannot be taken to the Falls of Ohio, from Philadelphia under ſixteen hundred pounds expence; but by improvements on the Miſſiſſippi, with the conveniences of theſe boats, goods can be brought from New Orleans to the Falls for the tenth part of that expence; and if they are ſold at one hundred pounds per cent. now, when brought from Philadelphia at expences ſo great what may the merchant afford to ſell his goods at, who brings them ſo much cheaper? Beſides

ſides, the great advantages ariſing from the exporting the peltry, and country produce, which never can be conveyed to the eaſtern ports to any advantage. It is evident alſo that the market from which they receive imports, muſt conſequently receive their exports, which is the only return they can poſſibly make.

By ſtating the commerce of Kentucky in its proper terms, we find the expences ſuch, that we conclude with propriety, that that country will be ſupplied with goods as cheap as if ſituated but forty miles from Philadelphia.

But perhaps it will be replied, New Orleans is in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, who whenever they pleaſe, may make uſe of that fort, and ſome others they have on the Miſſiſſippi, to prevent the navigation and ruin the trade. The paſſage through Iberville is alſo ſubject to the Spaniards, and, beſides, inconvenient; that ſtream continuing ſo ſhort a time, and in the moſt diſadvantageous ſeaſon.

I grant it will be abſurd to expect a free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi whilſt the Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of New Orleans. To ſuppoſe it, is an idea calculated to impoſe only upon the weak. They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it conſiſtent with their intereſt*, but no friendſhip

* Article 8th of the late Definitive Treaty, ſays, The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi River from its

in

in trade exists when interest expires; therefore, when the western country becomes populous and ripe for trade, sound policy tells us the Floridas must be ours too. According to the articles of the Definitive Treaty, we are to have a free and unmolested navigation to the Mississippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended upon, the most solemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one should put much faith in any state; and the trade and commerce of the Mississippi River cannot be so well secured in any other possession as our own.

Although the Iberville only admits of a short and inconvenient navigation, yet if a commercial town were built there, it would be the center of the western trade; and a land carriage of ten or twelve miles would be counted, no disadvantage to the merchant. Nay, I doubt not, that in time a canal will be broke through the gut of Iberville, which may divert the water of Mississippi that way, and render it a place of the greatest consequence in America; but this important period is reserved for futurity.

source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

THE

THE

ADVENTURES

OF

COLONEL DANIEL BOON,

Formerly a Hunter;

Containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of KENTUCKY.

CURIOSITY is natural to the soul of man; and interesting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let these influencing powers actuate, by the permission or disposal of Providence, from selfish or social views, yet in time the mysterious will of Heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatsoever motives excited, operating to answer the important designs of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucky, lately an howling wilderness, the habitation of savages and wild beasts, become a fruitful field; this region, so favourably distinguished by nature, is now become the habitation of civilization, at a period unparalleled in history, in the midst of a raging war, and under all the disadvantages of emigration to a country so remote from the inhabited parts of the continent. Here, where the

the hand of violence shed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of savages, and the groans of the distressed, sounded in our ears, we now hear the praises and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams stood, the miserable abodes of savages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will equal the glory of the greatest upon earth. And we view Kentucky situated on the fertile banks of the great Ohio, rising from obscurity to shine with splendor, equal to any other of the stars of the American hemisphere.

The settling of this region well deserves a place in history. Most of the memorable events I have myself been exercised in; and, for the satisfaction of the public, will briefly relate the circumstances of my adventures, and scenes of life, from my first movement to this country until this day.

It was on the first of May, in the year 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded successfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountaneous wilderness, in a westward direction, on the seventh

venth day of June following we found ourſelves on Red River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, ſaw with pleaſure the beautiful level of Kentucky. Here let me obſerve, that for ſome time we had experienced the moſt uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future ſufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a ſhelter to defend us from the inclement ſeaſon, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found every where abundance of wild beaſts of all ſorts, through this vaſt foreſt. The buffalo were more frequent than I have ſeen cattle in the ſettlements, browzing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on thoſe extenſive plains, fearleſs, becauſe ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we ſaw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the ſalt ſprings were amazing. In this foreſt, the habitation of beaſts of every kind natural to America, we practiſed hunting with great ſucceſs, until the twenty-ſecond day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleaſing ramble, but fortune changed the ſcene in the cloſe of it. We had paſſed through a great foreſt, on which ſtood myriads of trees, ſome gay with bloſſoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a ſeries of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here ſhe diſplayed her ingenuity and

induſtry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly ſhaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals preſenting themſelves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we aſcended the brow of a ſmall hill, a number of Indians ruſhed out of a thick cane brake upon us, and made us priſoners. The time of our ſorrow was now arrived, and the ſcene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement ſeven days, treating us with common ſavage uſage. During this time we diſcovered no uneaſineſs or deſire to eſcape, which made them leſs ſuſpicious of us; but in the dead of night, as we lay in a thick cane-brake by a large fire, when ſleep had locked up their ſenſes, my ſituation not diſpoſing me for reſt, I touched my companion, and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their reſt, and ſpeedily directed our courſe towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company diſperſed and gone home. About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country ſhortly after us, was wandering through the foreſt, determined to find me if poſſible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate circumſtances of our company, and

and our dangerous ſituation, as ſurrounded with hoſtile ſavages, our meeting ſo fortunately in the wilderneſs made us reciprocally ſenſible of the utmoſt ſatisfaction. So much does friendſhip triumph over misfortune, that ſorrows and ſufferings vaniſh not only at the meeting of real friends, but of the moſt diſtant acquaintances, and ſubſtitute happineſs in their room.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the ſavages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by himſelf. We were then in a dangerous, helpleſs ſituation, expoſed daily to perils and death amongſt ſavages and wild beaſts, not a white man in the country but ourſelves.

Thus ſituated many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderneſs, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happineſs we experienced. I often obſerved to my brother, You ſee now how little nature requires to be ſatisfied. Felicity the companion of content, is rather found in our own breaſts than in the enjoyment of external things: and I firmly believe it requires but a little philoſophy to make a man happy in whatſoever ſtate he is. This conſiſts in a full reſignation to the will of Providence; and a reſigned ſoul finds pleaſure in a path ſtrewed with briars and thorns.

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We continued not in a ſtate of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little, cottage to defend us from the winter ſtorms. We remained there undiſturbed during the winter; and on the firſt day of May, 1770, my brother returned home to the ſettlement by himſelf, for a new recruit of horſes and ammunition, leaving me by myſelf without bread, ſalt or ſugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horſe or dog. I confeſs I never before was under greater neceſſity of exerciſing philoſophy and fortitude. A few days I paſſed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my abſence and expoſed ſituation, made ſenſible impreſſions on my heart. A thouſand dreadful apprehenſions preſented themſelves to my view, and had undoubtedly diſpoſed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diverſity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming ſeaſon, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Juſt at the cloſe of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the diſpoſal of a profound calm. Not a breeze ſhook the moſt tremulous leaf. I had gained the ſummit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with aſtoniſhing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand, I ſurveyed

veyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in ſilent dignity, marking the weſtern boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vaſt diſtance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were ſtill. I kindled a fire near a fountain of ſweet water, and feaſted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The ſullen ſhades of night ſoon overſpread the whole hemiſphere, and the earth ſeemed to gaſp after the hovering moiſture. My roving excurtion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to ſleep, and I awoke not until the ſun had chaſed away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a conſiderable part of the country, each day equally pleaſed as the firſt. I returned again to my old camp, which was not diſturbed in my abſence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often repoſed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the ſavages, who, I believe often viſited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my abſence. In this ſituation I was conſtantly expoſed to danger and death. How unhappy ſuch a ſituation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes, and if it does, only augments the pain. It was my happineſs to be deſtitute of this afflicting paſſion, with which I had the greateſt reaſon to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my

nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings; and the various species of animals in this vast forest, in the day time, were continually in my view.

Thus I was surrounded with plenty in the midst of want. I was happy in the midst of dangers and inconveniencies. In such a diversity it was impossible I should be disposed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus, through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, I spent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it safe to stay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland River, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family, with a determination to bring them as soon as possible to live in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise, at the risk of my life and fortune.

I returned safe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1773, bade a

farewell

farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five families more, and forty men that joined us in Powel's Valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now settled parts of Kentucky. This promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity; for upon the tenth day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action: Though we defended ourselves, and repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles, to the settlement on Clinch river. We had passed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, as we pass from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a S. W. and N. E. direction, are of a great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over these, nature hath formed passes that are less difficult than might be expected from a view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. The spectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly suffered some

violent

violent convulsion; and that these are the dismembered remains of the dreadful shock; the ruins, not of Persepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clinch until the sixth of June, 1774, when I and one Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore of Virginia, to go to the Falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the settlement a number of surveyors that had been sent thither by him some months before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the Governor's request, and conducted in the surveyors, compleating a tour of eight hundred miles, through many difficulties, in sixty-two days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garrisons during the campaign, which Governor Dunmore carried on against the Shawanese Indians: after the conclusion of which, the militia was discharged from each garrison, and I being relieved from my post, was solicited by a number of North Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchasing the lands laying on the S. side of Kentucky River, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March 1775, to negociate with them, and mention the boundaries of the purchase. This I accepted; and at the request of the same gentlemen,

men, undertook to mark out a road in the beſt paſſage from the ſettlement through the wilderneſs to Kentucky, with ſuch aſſiſtance as I thought neceſſary to employ for ſuch an important undertaking.

I ſoon began this work, having collected a number of enterpriſing men, well armed. We proceeded with all poſſible expedition until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonſborough now ſtands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed two, and wounded two of our number; yet, although ſurpriſed and taken at a diſadvantage, we ſtood our ground. This was on the twentieth of March, 1775. Three days after, we were fired upon again, and had two men killed, and three wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucky River without oppoſition; and on the firſt day of April began to erect the fort of Boonſborough at a ſalt lick, about ſixty yards from the river, on the S. ſide.

On the fourth day, the Indians killed one of our men.—We were buſily employed in building this fort, until the fourteenth day of June following, without any farther oppoſition from the Indians; and having finiſhed the works, I returned to my family, on Clinch.

In a ſhort time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clinch to this garriſon: where we arrived ſafe without any other difficulties than ſuch as are common to this paſſage, my wife and

and daughter being the firſt white women that ever ſtood on the banks of Kentucky River.

On the twenty-fourth day of December following, we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians, who ſeemed determined to perſecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the fourteenth day of July 1776, two of Col: Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken priſoners near the fort. I immediately purſued the Indians, with only eight men, and on the ſixteenth overtook them, killed two of the party, and recovered the girls. The ſame day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themſelves into different parties, and attacked ſeveral forts, which were ſhortly before this time erected, doing a great deal of miſchief. This was extremely diſtreſſing to the new ſettlers. The innocent huſbandman was ſhot down, while buſy in cultivating the ſoil for his family's ſupply. Moſt of the cattle around the ſtations were deſtroyed. They continued their hoſtilities in this manner until the fifteenth of April 1777, when they attacked Boonſborough with a party of above one hundred in number, killed one man, and wounded four.—Their loſs in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the fourth day of July following, a party of about two hundred Indians attacked Boonſborough, killed one man, and wounded two.

two. They beſieged us forty-eight hours; during which time ſeven of them were killed, and, at laſt, finding themſelves not likely to prevail, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

The Indians had diſpoſed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garriſons to prevent their aſſiſting each other, and did much injury to the diſtreſſed inhabitants.

On the nineteenth day of this month, Col. Logan's fort was beſieged by a party of about two hundred Indians. During this dreadful ſiege they did a great deal of miſchief, diſtreſſed the garriſon, in which were only fifteen men, killed two, and wounded one. The enemy's loſs was uncertain, from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only ſixty-five men, and Boonſborough by twenty-two, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the Falls, a conſiderable diſtance from theſe; and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were every where diſperſed through the country, intent upon doing all the miſchief that ſavage barbarity could invent. Thus we paſſed through a ſcene of ſufferings that exceeds deſcription.

On the twenty-fifth of this month, a reinforcement of forty-five men arrived from North Carolina

Carolina, and about the twentieth of Auguſt following, Col. Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to ſtrengthen, and from hence, for the ſpace of ſix weeks, we had ſkirmiſhes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almoſt every day.

The ſavages now learned the ſuperiority of the Long-Knife, as they call the Virginians, by experience; being out-generalled in almoſt every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aſpect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practiſed ſecret miſchief at times.

On the firſt day of January 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make ſalt for the different garriſons in the country.

On the 7th day of February, as I was hunting to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, on their march againſt Boonſborough, that place being particularly the object of the enemy.

They purſued, and took me; and brought me on the eighth day to the Licks, where twenty-ſeven of my party were, three of them having previouſly returned home with the ſalt. I, knowing it was impoſſible for them to eſcape, capitulated with the enemy, and, at a diſtance in their view, gave notice to my men of their ſituation, with orders not to reſiſt, but ſurrender themſelves captives.

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The generous usage the Indians had promised before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as prisoners to old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey in very severe weather, on the eighteenth day of February, and received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages.—On the tenth day of March following, I and ten of my men were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the thirtieth day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was so great, that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the Governor offered them one hundred pounds sterling for me, on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with human sympathy, generously offered a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness; adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit, and on the tenth day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of

the ſame month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine ſprings and ſtreams of water. At Chelicothe I ſpent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their cuſtom, into a family, where I became a ſon, and had a great ſhare in the affection of my new parents, brothers, ſiſters and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and ſatisfied as poſſible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applauſe for my activity at our ſhooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in ſhooting; for no people are more envious than they in this ſport. I could obſerve, in their countenances and geſtures, the greateſt expreſſions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverſe happened, of envy. The Shawaneſe king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound reſpect, and entire friendſhip, often entruſting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the ſpoils of the woods, and as often preſented ſome of what I had taken to him, expreſſive of duty to my ſovereign. My food and lodging were in common with them; not ſo good indeed as I could deſire, but neceſſity made every thing acceptable.

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I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided their suspicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the first day of June following, and then was taken by them to the salt springs on Sciota, and kept there, making salt, ten days. During this time I hunted some for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucky, if possible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to see four hundred and fifty Indians, of their choicest warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, ready to march against Boonsborough, I determined to escape the first opportunity.

On the sixteenth, before sun-rise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonsborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortress in a bad state of defence; but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, strengthen our gates and posterns, and form double bastions, which we completed in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow prisoners, escaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had, on account of my departure, postponed their expedition three weeks.—The

Indians had ſpies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increaſe in number and fortifications. The Grand Councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than uſual. They evidently ſaw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would diſpoſſeſs them of their deſirable habitations; and, anxiouſly concerned for futurity, determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucky. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the firſt of Auguſt, I made an incurſion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to ſurpriſe a ſmall town up Sciota, called Paint-Creek-town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians on their march againſt Boonſborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A ſmart fight enſued betwixt us for ſome time: at length the ſavages gave way, and fled. We had no loſs on our ſide: the enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took from them three horſes, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all poſſible expedition to aſſiſt our garriſon againſt the other party. We paſſed by them on the

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fixth day, and on the ſeventh we arrived ſafe at Boonſborough.

On the eighth, the Indian army arrived, being four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Capt. Duqueſne, eleven other Frenchmen, and ſome of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with Britiſh and French colours flying; and having ſent a ſummons to me, in his Britanick Majeſty's name, to ſurrender the fort, I requeſted two days conſideration, which was granted.

It was now a critical period with us.—We were a ſmall number in the garriſon:—a powerful army before our walls, whoſe appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footſteps with deſolation. Death was preferable to captivity; and if taken by ſtorm, we muſt inevitably be devoted to deſtruction. In this ſituation we concluded to maintain our garriſon, if poſſible. We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horſes, and other cattle, and bring them through the poſterns into the fort: and in the evening of the ninth, I returned anſwer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living.—'Now, ſaid I to their commander, who ſtood attentively, hearing my ſentiments, 'We laugh at all you formidable preparations: but thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence.

Your efforts will not prevail; for our gates ſhall for ever deny your admittance.'—Whether this anſwer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but, contrary to our expectations, they formed a ſcheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from Governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to deſtroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. This ſounded grateful in our ears; and we agreed to the propoſal.

We held the treaty within ſixty yards of the garriſon, on purpoſe to divert them from a breach of honour, as we could not avoid ſuſpicions of the ſavages. In this ſituation the articles were formally agreed to, and ſigned; and the Indians told us it was cuſtomary with them, on ſuch occaſions, for two Indians to ſhake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendſhip. We agreed to this alſo, but were ſoon convinced their policy was to take us priſoners.—They immediately grappled us; but, although ſurrounded by hundreds of ſavages, we extricated ourſelves from them, and eſcaped all ſafe into the garriſon, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. They immediately attacked us on every ſide, and a conſtant heavy fire enſued between us, day and night, for the ſpace of nine days.

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In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was ſituated ſixty yards from Kentucky River. They began at the water-mark, and proceeded in the bank ſome diſtance, which we underſtood by their making the water muddy with the clay; and we immediately proceeded to diſappoint their deſign, by cutting a trench acroſs their ſubterranean paſſage. The enemy diſcovering our counter-mine, by the clay we threw out of the fort, deſiſted from the ſtratagem: and experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor policy could effect their purpoſe, on the twentieth day of Auguſt they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

During the ſiege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed, and four wounded, beſides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy thirty-ſeven, and wounded a great number. After they were gone, we picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of bullets, beſides what ſtuck in the logs of our fort; which certainly is a great proof of their induſtry. Soon after this, I went into the ſettlement, and nothing worthy of a place in this account paſſed in my affairs for ſome time.

During my abſence from Kentucky Col. Bowman carried on an expedition againſt the Shawaneſe, at Old Chelicothe, with one hundred and ſixty men, in July 1779. Here they arrived

arrived undiſcovered, and a battle enſued, which laſted until ten o'clock, A. M. when Col. Bowman, finding he could not ſucceed at this time, retreated about thirty miles. The Indians, in the mean time, collecting all their forces, purſued and overtook him, when a ſmart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of Col. Bowman's party.

Col. Harrod propoſed to mount a number of horſe, and furiouſly to ruſh upon the ſavages, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This deſperate ſtep had a happy effect, broke the line of battle, and the ſavages fled on all ſides. In theſe two battles we had nine killed, and one wounded. The enemy's loſs uncertain, only two ſcalps being taken.

On the twenty-ſecond day of June 1780, a large party of Indians and Canadians, about ſix hundred in number, commanded by Col. Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's ſtations, at the Forks of Licking River, with ſix pieces of artillery. They carried this expedition ſo ſecretly, that the unwary inhabitants did not diſcover them, until they fired upon the forts; and, not being prepared to oppoſe them, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves miſerable captives to barbarous ſavages, who immediately after tomahawked one man and two women, and loaded all the others with heavy baggage, forcing them along toward their towns, able or unable to march. Such as were weak and faint

faint by the way, they tomahawked. The tender women, and helpleſs children fell victims to their cruelty. This, and the ſavage treatment they received afterwards, is ſhocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.

The hoſtile diſpoſition of the ſavages, and their allies, cauſed General Clark, the commandant at the Falls of the Ohio, immediately to begin an expedition with his own regiment, and the armed force of the country, againſt Pecaway, the principal town of the Shawaneſe on a branch of Great Miami, which he finiſhed with great ſucceſs, took ſeventeen ſcalps, and burnt the town to aſhes, with the loſs of ſeventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; and here to avoid enquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucky, I am under the neceſſity of informing him that, during my captivity with the Indians, my wife, who deſpaired of ever ſeeing me again, expecting the Indians had put a period to my life, oppreſſed with the diſtreſſes of the country, and bereaved of me, her only happineſs, had, before I returned, tranſported my family and goods, on horſes, through the wilderneſs, amidſt a multitude of dangers, to her father's houſe in North Carolina.

Shortly after the troubles at Boonſborough, I went to them and lived peaceably there until

til this time. The history of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a series of difficulties, an acount of which would swell a volume, and being foreign to my purpose, I shall purposely omit them.

I settled my family in Boonsborough once more; and shortly after, on the sixth day of October 1780, I went in company with my brother to the Blue Licks; and, on our return home, we were fired upon by a party of Indians. They shot him, and pursued me by the scent of their dog, three miles; but I killed the dog, and escaped. The winter soon came on, and was very severe, which confined the Indians to their wigwams.

The severity of this winter caused great difficulties in Kentucky. The enemy had destroyed most of the corn the summer before. This necessary article was scarce, and dear; and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the flesh of buffalo. The circumstances of many were very lamentable; however, being a hardy race of people, and accustomed to difficulties and necessities, they were wonderfully supported through all their sufferings, until the ensuing autumn, when we received abundance from the fertile soil.

Towards spring, we were frequently harassed by Indians; and, in May, 1782, a party assaulted Ashton's station, killed one man, and took a negro prisoner. Capt. Ashton, with twen-

twenty-five men, purſued, and overtook the ſavages, and a ſmart fight enſued, which laſted two hours; but they being ſuperior in number, obliged Captain Aſhton's party to retreat, with the loſs of eight men killed, and four mortally wounded; their brave commander himſelf being numbered among the dead.

The Indians continued their hoſtilities; and about the tenth of Auguſt following, two boys were taken from Major Hoy's ſtation. This party was purſued by Capt. Holder and ſeventeen men, who were alſo defeated, with the loſs of four men killed, and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. Several ſtations which had lately been erected in the country were continually infeſted with ſavages, ſtealing their horſes, and killing the men at every opportunity. In a field, near Lexington, an Indian ſhot a man, and running to ſcalp him, was himſelf ſhot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

Every day we experienced recent miſchiefs. The barbarous ſavage nations of Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Delawares, and ſeveral others near Detroit, united in a war againſt us, and aſſembled their choiceſt warriors at old Chelicothe, to go on the expedition, in order to deſtroy us, and entirely depopulate the country. Their ſavage minds were inflamed to miſchief by two abandoned men, Captains M'Kee and Girty. Theſe led them

to

to execute every diabolical ſcheme; and, on the fifteenth day of Auguſt, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about five hundred in number, againſt Briant's ſtation, five miles from Lexington. Without demanding a ſurrender, they furiouſly aſſaulted the garriſon, which was happily prepared to oppoſe them; and, after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themſelves maſters of the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed in the morniug of the third day after they came, with the loſs of about thirty killed, and the number of wounded uncertain.—Of the garriſon four were killed, and three wounded.

On the eighteenth day Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland, and myſelf, ſpeedily collected one hundred and ſeventy-ſix men, well armed, and purſued the ſavages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about forty miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the nineteenth day. The ſavages obſerving us, gave way; and we being ignorant of their numbers, paſſed the river. When the enemy ſaw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in ſituation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce

battle

battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of ſixty-ſeven men, ſeven of whom were taken priſoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland, and my ſecond ſon, were among the dead. We were informed that the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had four killed more than we; and therefore, four of the priſoners they had taken were, by general conſent, ordered to be killed, in a moſt barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, haſtening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful aſſiſtance we unfortunately wanted in the battle; for notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they ſhould undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our ſmall party fight, that, to the memory of thoſe who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had Col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we ſhould have given the ſavages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water others after crossing, in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and, being dispersed every where in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: Some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrified condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

As soon as General Clark, then at the Falls of the Ohio, who was ever our ready friend, and

and merits the love and gratitude of all his countrymen, underſtood the circumſtances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all poſſible haſte, to purſue the ſavages, which was ſo expeditiouſly effected, that we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had not two of their number met us about two hundred poles before we came up. Theſe returned as quick as lightening to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The ſavages fled in the utmoſt diſorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took poſſeſſion of Old Chelicothe, without oppoſition, being deſerted by its inhabitants. We continued our purſuit through five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to aſhes, entirely deſtroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where ſpread a ſcene of deſolation in the country. In this expedition we took ſeven priſoners and five ſcalps, with the loſs of only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This campaign in ſome meaſure damped the ſpirits of the Indians, and made them ſenſible of our ſuperiority. Their connections were diſſolved, their armies ſcattered, and a future invaſion put entirely out of their power; yet

they continued to practise mischief secretly upon the inhabitants, in the exposed parts of the country.

In Oct. following, a party made an excursion into that district called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced some distance before the others, boldly entered the house of a poor defenceless family, in which was only a negro man, a woman, and her children, terrified with the apprehensions of immediate death. The savage, perceiving their defenceless situation, without offering violence to the family, attempted to captivate the negro, who happily proved an over-match for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the struggle, the mother of the children drew an axe from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly appeared, and applied their tomakawks to the door. An old rusty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a small crevice, and the savages, perceiving it, fled. In the mean time, the alarm spread through the neighbourhood; the armed men collected immediately, and pursued the ravagers into the wilderness. Thus Providence, by the means of this negro, saved the whole of the poor family from destruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief.

Find-

Finding the great king beyond the water disappointed in his expectations, and conscious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedness, some of the nations immediately desired peace; to which, at present, they seem universally disposed, and are sending ambassadors to General Clark, at the Falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their Councils; a specimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankashaw Council, is subjoined.

To conclude, I can now say that I have verified the saying of an old Indian who signed Col. Henderson's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, Brother, says he, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it.—My footsteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons, and a brother, have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed; peace crowns the sylvan shade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaseless thanks are due to that all-superintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into

peace, brought order out of confuſion, made the fierce ſavages placid, and turned away their hoſtile weapons from our country! May the ſame Almighty Goodneſs baniſh the accurſed monſter, war, from all lands, with her hated aſſociates, rapine and inſatiable ambition! Let peace, deſcending from her native heaven, bid her olives ſpring amidſt the joyful nations; and plenty, in league with commerce, ſcatter bleſſings from her copious hand!

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the moſt remarkable events of this country.—I now live in peace and ſafety, enjoying the ſweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-ſufferers, in this delightful country, which I have ſeen purchaſed with a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, delighting in the proſpect of its being, in a ſhort time, one of the moſt opulent and powerful ſtates on the continent of North America; which, with the love and gratitude of my countrymen, I eſteem a ſufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON.

Fayette county, Kentucky.

PIANKASHAW COUNCIL.

In a COUNCIL *held with the Piankaſhaw Indians by* THOMAS J. DALTON, *at Poſt St. Vincent's, April* 15, 1784.

MY CHILDREN,

WHAT I have often told you, is now come to paſs. This day I received news from my Great Chief, at the falls of Ohio. Peace is made with the enemies of America. The White Fleſh, the Americans, French, Spaniards, Dutch, and Engliſh, this day ſmoke out of the peace-pipe. The tomahawk is buried, and they are now friends.

I am told the Shawaneſe, Delawares, Chicaſaws, Cherokees, and all other the Red Fleſh, have taken the Long Knife by the hand. They have given up to them the priſoners that were in their nations.

My Children on Wabaſh,

Open your ears, and let what I tell you ſink deep in your hearts. You know me. Near twenty years I have been among you. The Long Knife is my nation. I know their hearts;

hearts; peace they carry in one hand, and war in the other.

I leave you to yourſelves to judge. Conſider, and now accept the one, or the other. We never beg peace of our enemies. If you love your women and children, receive the belt of wampun I preſent you. Return me my fleſh you have in your villages, and the horſes you ſtole from my people at Kentucky. Your corn fields were never diſturbed by the Long Knife. Your women and children lived quiet in their houſes, while your warriors were killing and robbing my people. All this you know is the truth. This is the laſt time I ſhall ſpeak to you. I have waited ſix moons to hear you ſpeak, and to get my people from you. In ten nights I ſhall leave the Wabaſh to ſee my great Chief at the Falls of Ohio, where he will be glad to hear, from your own lips, what you have to ſay. Here is tobacco I give you: Smoke; and conſider what I have ſaid.—Then I delivered one belt of blue and white wampum; and ſaid, Piankaſhaw, ſpeak, ſpeak to the Americans.

Then the Piankaſhaw Chief anſwered;

My Great Father, the Long Knife,

You have been many years among us. You have ſuffered by us. We ſtill hope you will have pity and compaſſion upon us, on our women and children; the day is clear. The ſun

ſhines

ſhines on us; and the good news of a peace appears in our faces. This day, my Father, this is the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians. With one tongue we now ſpeak.

We accept your peace-belt. We return God thanks, you are the man that delivered us, what we long wiſhed for, peace with the White Fleſh. My Father, we have many times counſelled before you knew us; and you know how ſome of us ſuffered before.

We received the tomahawk from the Engliſh: poverty forced us to it: we were attended by other nations: we are ſorry for it: we this day collect the bones of our friends that long ago were ſcattered upon the earth. We bury them in one grave. We thus plant the tree of peace, that God may ſpread branches; ſo that we can all be ſecured from bad weather. They ſmoke as brothers out of the peace-pipe we now preſent you. Here, My Father, is the pipe that gives us joy. Smoke out of it. Our warriors are glad you are the man we preſent it to. You ſee, Father, we have buried the tomakawk: we now make a great chain of friendſhip never to be broken; and now, as one people, ſmoke out of your pipe. My Father, we know God was angry with us for ſtealing your horſes, and diſturbing your people. He has ſent us ſo much ſnow and cold weather, that God himſelf killed all your horſes, with our own.

We

We are now a poor people. God, we hope, will help us; and our Father, the Long Knife, will have pity and compaſſion on our women and children. Your fleſh, my Father, is well that is among us; we ſhall collect then altogether when they come in from hunting. Don't be ſorry, my Father, all the priſoners taken at Kentucky are alive and well; we love them, and ſo do our young women.

Some of your people mend our guns, and others tell us they can make rum of the corn. Thoſe are now the ſame as we. In one moon after this, we will go with them to their friends at Kentucky. Some of your people will now go with Coſtea, a Chief of our nation, to ſee his Great Father, the Long Knife, at the Falls of Ohio.

My Father,

This being the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians, we beg a little drop of your milk, to let our warriors ſee it came from your own breaſt. We were born and raiſed in the woods; we could never learn to make rum—God has make the White Fleſh maſters of the world; they make every thing; and we all love rum—

Then they delivered three ſtrings of blue and white wampum, and the coronet of peace.

PRE-

PRESENT in COUNCIL,

MUSKIATO,	ANTIA,
Capt. BEAVER,	MONTOUR,
WOODES & BURNING,	CASTIA
BADTRIPES,	GRAND COURT,

With many other Chiefs, and War Captains, and the principal inhabitants of the Poft of St. Vincents.

OF

OF THE INDIANS.

WE have an acount of twenty eight different nations of Indians, Eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi.—Their ſituation is as follows.

The Cherokee Indians are neareſt to Kentucky, living upon the Tenaſee River, near the mouth of Clench, Holſtein, Nolachuke, and French Broad Rivers, which form the Tenaſee or Cherokee River, in the interior parts of North Carolina, two hundred miles from Kentucky.

The Chicamawges lives about ninety miles down the Tenaſee from the Cherokees, at a place called Chicamawgee, which in our language ſignifies a boiling pot, there being a whirlpool in the river dangerous for boats. The Dragomonough, a Chief of the Cherokees, with ſixty more, broke off from that nations and formed this tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirlpool.

The Cheegees and Middle Settlement Indians, are ſettled about fifty and eighty miles South of the Cherokee.—Theſe four tribes ſpeak one language, being deſcended from the Cherokees.

The

The Chicaſaws inhabit about one hundred miles N. W. from our ſettlement at French Lick, on Cumberland River, on the heads of a river called Tombeche, which runs into Mobile Bay.

The Chactaw nation are eighty miles from the Chicaſaws, down the ſame river.

The Creek Indians live about one hundred and ſixty miles South of the Chactaws, on the Apalache River, which runs into the Gulph of Mexico, ſome little diſtance Eaſt of Mobile Bay.

The Uchees Indians occupy four different places of reſidence, at the head of St. John's, the Fork of St. Mary's, the head of Cannuchee, and the head of St. Tillis. Theſe rivers riſe on the borders of Georgia, and run ſeparately into the ocean.

The Catauba Indians are ſettled in North-Carolina, about two hundred miles diſtant from Charles-town, in S. Carolina.

The tribes to the weſtward of Ohio River are the Delawares, living upon the Muſkingum River, which runs into the Ohio one hundred and eighty-ſeven miles above Sciotha, on the N. W. ſide.

The Mingo nation lives upon a N. W. branch of Sciotha River, as is repreſented in the map.

The Wyandotts poſſeſs the banks of a river called Sanduſky, which heads and interlocks

with Sciotha, and, running in a contrary direction N. W. for a great diſtance, falls into Lake Erie.

The Six nations are ſettled upon waters running in to Lake Ontario, that head in the mountain, from whence the Ohio and Suſquehannah rivers riſe.

The Shawaneſe Indians occupy five towns on the waters of Little and Great Miami, as appears in the map.

The Gibbaways are fixed on the eaſt ſide of Detroit River, and oppoſite the fort of that name. This river runs out of Lake Huron into Lake Erie, is thirty-ſix miles in length, and the fort ſtands on the Weſt ſide, half way betwixt theſe lakes.

The Hurons live ſix miles from the Gibbaways, towards Lake Huron, and on the ſame ſide of the river.

The Tawaws are found eighteen miles up the Mawmee or Omee River, which runs into Lake Erie.

There is a ſmall tribe of Tawas ſettled at a place called the Rapids, ſome diſtance higher up the river than the former.

The Mawmee Indians live two hundred and forty miles up this river, at a place called Roſedebeau.

The Piankaſhaws reſide about one hundred and ſixty miles up Wabaſh River:—

The

The Vermilion Indians about ſixty miles higher;—and the Wyahtinaws about thirty miles ſtill further up the ſame river.

The Wabaſh heads and interlocks with Mawmee, and runs a contrary direction into Ohio, three hundred and eighteen miles below the Falls.

The Long-iſle or Iſle-River Indians live on Iſle, or white River, which runs into Wabaſh.

The Kickapoos are fixed on a branch of Mawmee River above the Long-iſle Indians.

The Ozaw Nation, lives on the Ozaw River, which runs into Miſſiſſippi:——

And the Kakaſky Nation, on the Miſſiſſippi, two hundred miles above the Ozaws.

The Illinois Indians inhabit upon the Illinois River, which falls into the Miſſiſſippi;—

And the Poutawattamies near St. Joſeph's, a town on the branch of the Illinois.

The Siaux and Renards, are neighbours to the fort of Michillimackanac, on Lake Michigan.

Theſe are the principal part of the Nations within the limits of the United States. Allowing about ſeven hundred to a nation or tribe, they will contain, in all, twenty thouſand ſouls, and conſequently may furniſh between four and five thouſand warriors.

The

The ſpeculations of curious idleneſs have framed many ſyſtems to account for the population of this immenſe continent. There is ſcarce a people in the old world which has not had its advocates; and there have not been wanting ſome, who, deſpairing to looſen, have cut the knot, by ſuppoſing that the power which furniſhed America with plants, has in the ſame manner ſupplied it with men; or at leaſt, that a remnant in this continent was ſaved from the univerſal deluge, as well as in the other. As this ſubject is rather curious than uſeful, and, in its very nature, does not admit of certainty, every thing that paſſed in America before the arrival of the Europeans being plunged in Cimmerian darkneſs, except thoſe little traditional records, which diffuſe a glimmering light on the two empires of Mexico and Peru, for about two hundred years at moſt before that period, we ſhall only ſlightly touch on that ſubject; chiefly for the ſake of taking notice of ſome modern diſcoveries which ſeem to ſtrengthen the probability of ſome former theories. The great ſimilarity, or rather identity, of the perſons and manners of the Americans, and thoſe of the Tartars of the N. Eaſtern parts of Aſia, together with a preſumption, which has long poſſeſſed the learned, that Aſia and America were united, or at leaſt ſeparated only by a narrow ſea, has inclined the more reflecting part of mankind to the opinion

opinion, that the true origin of the Indians is from this quarter. The immenſe ſeas, which ſeparate two continents on every other ſide, render it highly improbable that any colonies could ever have been ſent acroſs them before the diſcovery of the magnetical compaſs. The ingenious Mr. Buffon too has remarked, and the obſervation appears to be juſt, that there are no animals inhabiting in common the two continents, but ſuch as can bear the colds of the North. Thus there are no elephants, no lions, no tigers, no camels in America; but bears, wolves, deer, and elks in abundance, abſolutely the ſame in both hemiſpheres. This hypotheſis, which has been gaining ground ever ſince its firſt appearance in the world is now reduced almoſt to a certainty by the late diſcoveries of Capt. Cook.

That illuſtrious, but unfortunate navigator, in his laſt voyage, penetrated for a conſiderable diſtance into the ſtrait which divides Aſia from America, which is only ſix leagues wide at its mouth; and therefore eaſily practicable for canoes. We may now therefore conclude, that no farther enquiry will ever be made into the general origin of the American tribes.

Yet after all it is far from being improbable that various nations, by ſhipwreck, or otherwiſe, may have contributed, in ſome degree, to the population of this continent. The Carthaginians, who had many ſettlements on the

coaſt of Africa, beyond the Straits of Gibralter, and puſhed their diſcoveries as far as where the two continents in that quarter approach each other the neareſt, may probably have been thrown by tempeſts on the American coaſt, and the companies of the veſſels finding it impracticable to return, may have incorporated with the former inhabitants, or have formed new ſettlements, which, from want of the neceſſary inſtruments to exerciſe the arts they were acquainted with, would naturally degenerate into barbarity. There are indeed ſome ancient writers, who give us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there were colonies regularly formed by that nation in America, and that the communication, after having continued for ſome time, was ſtopped by order of the State. But it is difficult to conceive that any people, eſtabliſhed with all thoſe neceſſaries proper for their ſituation, ſhould ever degenerate, from ſo high a degree of cultivation as the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, to a total ignorance even of the moſt neceſſary arts: and therefore it ſeems probable, that if the nation ever had ſuch colonies, they muſt have been cut off by the natives, and every veſtige of them deſtroyed.

About the ninth and tenth centuries, the Danes were the greateſt navigators in the univerſe. They diſcovered and ſettled Iceland; and from thence, in 964, planted a colony in Greenland. The ancient Icelandic chronicles,

as

as reported by M. Mallet, contain an account of ſome Icelanders, who, in the cloſe of an unſucceſsful war, fled to Greenland, and from thence Weſtward, to a country covered with vines, which from thence they called Vinland.

The adventurers returned home, and conducted a colony to their new diſcovery; but diſturbances ariſing in Denmark, all communication with Greenland, as well as Vinland, ceaſed; and thoſe countries remained unknown to the reſt of the world for ſeveral ages. The remains of this colony are probably to be found on the coaſt of Labrador, in the nation of the Eſquimaux. The colour of their ſkins, their hairy bodies and buſhy beards, not to mention the difference of manners, mark an origin totally diſtinct from that of the other Indians.

In the year 1170, Madoc, ſon of Owen Gwynnedh, Prince of Wales, diſſatisfied with the ſituation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the Welſh hiſtorians, in queſt of new ſettlements, and leaving Ireland to the North, proceeded Weſt till he diſcovered a fertile country; where, leaving a colony, he returned, and perſuading many of his countrymen to join him, put to ſea with ten ſhips, and was never more heard of.

This account has at ſeveral times drawn the attention of the world; but as no veſtiges of them

them had then been found, it was concluded, perhaps too raſhly, to be a fable, or at leaſt, that no remains of the colony exiſted. Of late years, however, the Weſtern ſettlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great diſtance up the Miſſouri, in manners and appearance reſembling the other Indians, but ſpeaking Welch, and retaining ſome ceremonies of the Chriſtian worſhip; and at length this is univerſally believed there to be a fact.

Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whoſe varacity may be entirely depended upon aſſured the author, that in the late war, being with his company in garriſon at Kaſkaſky, ſome Indians came there, and, ſpeaking in the Welch dialect, were perfectly underſtood and converſed with by two Welchmen in his company, and that they informed them of the ſituation of their nation as mentioned above.

The author is ſenſible of the ridicule which the vain and the petulent may attempt to throw on this account; but as truth only has guided his pen, he is regardleſs of the conſequences, and flatters himſelf, that, by calling the attention of mankind once more to this ſubject, he may be the means of procuring a more accurate enquiry into its truth, which, if it ſhould even refute the ſtory of the Welch, will at leaſt perform the important ſervice to the

the world, of promoting a more accurate discovery of this immenſe continent.

There are ſeveral ancient remains in Kentucky, which ſeem to prove, that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation farther advanced in the arts of life than the Indians. Theſe are there uſually attributed to the Welch, who are ſuppoſed to have formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the ſources of the Miſſouri.

It is well known, that no Indian nation has ever practiſed the method of defending themſelves by entrenchments; and ſuch a work would even be no eaſy one, while theſe nations were unacquainted with the uſe of iron.

In the neighbourhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be ſeen, furniſhed with ditches and baſtions. One of theſe contain about ſix acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not leſs than one hundred and ſixty years old. Pieces of earthen veſſels have alſo been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.

The burying grounds, which were mentioned above, under the head of Curioſities, form another ſtrong argument that this country was formerly inhabited by a people different from the

the preſent Indians. Although they do not diſcover any marks of extraordinary art in the ſtructure, yet, as many nations are particularly tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, it may perhaps be worthy of enquiry, whether theſe repoſitories of the dead do not bear a conſiderable reſemblance to the ancient Britiſh remains. Some buildings, attributed to the Picts, are mentioned by the Scottiſh antiquaries, which, if the author miſtakes not, are formed nearly in the ſame manner. Let it be enough for him to point out the road, and hazard ſome uncertain conjectures. The day is not far diſtant, when the fartheſt receſſes of this continent will be explored, and the accounts of the Welch eſtabliſhed beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, or conſigned to that oblivion which has already received ſo many ſuppoſitions founded on arguments as plauſible as theſe.

PERSONS AND HABITS.

THE Indians are not born white; and take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. They alſo paint their faces, breaſts and ſhoulders, of various colours, but generally red; and their features are well formed, eſpecially thoſe of the women. They are of

of a middle ſtature, their limbs clean and ſtraight, and ſcarcely any crooked or deformed perſon is to be found among them. In many parts of their bodies they prick in gunpowder in very pretty figures. They ſhave, or pluck the hair off their heads, except a patch about the crown, which is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum, and ſuch like baubles. Their ears are pared, and ſtretched in a thong down to their ſhoulders. They are wound round with wire to expand them, and adorned with ſilver pendants, rings, and bells, which they likewiſe wear in their noſes. Some of them will have a large feather through the cartilage of the noſe; and thoſe who can afford it, wear a collar of wampum, a ſilver breaſtplate, and bracelets, on the arms and wriſts. A bit of cloth about the middle, a ſhirt of the Engliſh make, on which they beſtow innumerable broaches to adorn it, a ſort of cloth boots and mockaſons, which are ſhoes of a make peculiar to the Indians, ornamented with porcupine quills, with a blanket or match-coat thrown over all, completes their dreſs at home; but when they go to war, they leave their trinkets behind, and mere neceſſaries ſerve them. There is little difference between the dreſs of men and women, excepting that a ſhort Petticoat, and the hair which is exceeding black, and long, clubbed behind, diſtinguiſh ſome of the latter. Except the

head

head and eye-brows, they pluck the hair, with great diligence, from all parts of the body, especially the loofer part of the fex.

Their warlike arms, are guns, bows, and arrows, darts, fcalping-knives and tomahawks. This is one of the moft ufeful pieces of field-furniture, ferving all the offices of the hatchet, pipe, and fword. They are exceeding expert in throwing it, and will kill at a confiderable diftance. The world has no better marksmen, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fifhes fwimming, and wild beafts running.

GENIUS.

THE Indians are not fo ignorant as fome fuppofe them, but are a very underftanding people, quick of apprehenfion, fudden in execution, fubtle in bufinefs, exquifite in invention, and induftrious in action. They are of a very gentle and amiable difpofition to thofe they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity; their revenge being only completed in the entire deftruction of their enemies. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger, and thirft, in a furprifing manner, and yet no people are more addicted to excefs in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently

veniently in their power. The follies, nay miſchief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himſelf. Among the Indians all men are equal, perſonal qualities being moſt eſteemed. No diſtinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private perſons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too ſenſible of their own inferiority. Though there is perhaps leſs delicacy of ſentiment in the Indians than amongſt us: there is, however, abundantly more probity, with infinitely leſs ceremony, or equivocal compliments.—Their public conferences ſhew them to be men of genius, and they have, in a high degree, the talent of natural eloquence.

They live diſperſed in ſmall villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers, where they have little plantations of Indian corn, and roots, not enough to ſupply their families half the year, and ſubſiſting the remainder of it by hunting, fiſhing and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow ſpontaneouſly in great plenty.

Their huts are generally built of ſmall logs, and covered with bark, each one having a chimney, and a door, on which they place a padlock.

Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucky ſtation, that is, a parallelogram, or long ſquare; and ſome of their houſes are ſhingled. A long Council-houſe extends the whole length of the town, where the king and chiefs of the nation frequently meet, and conſult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature.

Some huts are built by ſetting up a frame on forks, and placing bark againſt it; others of reeds, and ſurrounded with clay. The fire is in the middle of the wigwam, and the ſmoke paſſes through a little hole. They join reeds together by cords run through them, which ſerve them for tables and beds.—They moſtly lie upon ſkins of wild beaſts, and ſit on the ground. They have braſs kettles and pots to boil their food; gourds or calabaſhes, cut aſunder, ſerve them for pails, cups, and diſhes.

RELIGION.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various; and although it cannot be abſolutely affirmed that they have none, yet it muſt be confeſſed very difficult to define what it is. All agree that they acknowledge one Supreme God, but do not adore

adore him. They have not ſeen him, they do not know him, believing him to be too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe in a future ſtate, and that after death they ſhall be removed to their friends, who have gone before them, to an elyſium, or paradiſe.

The Wyandotts, near Detroit, and ſome others, have the Roman Catholic religion introduced amongſt them by miſſionaries.—Theſe have a church, a miniſter, and a regular burying-ground. Many of them appear zealous, and ſay prayers in their families. Theſe, by acquaintance with white people, are a little civilized, which muſt of neceſſity precede Chriſtianity.

The Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Chickaſaws, and ſome others, are little concerned about ſuperſtition, or religion. Others continue their former ſuperſtitious worſhip of the objects of their love and fear, and eſpecially thoſe beings whom they moſt dread, and whom therefore we generally denominate devils; though, at the ſame time, it is allowed they pray to the Sun, and other inferior benevolent deities, for ſucceſs in their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other neceſſaries of life.

They have their feſtivals, and other rejoicing days, on which they ſing and dance in a ring, taking hands, having ſo painted and

then commences hoſtilities againſt his own people. They are generally at war with each other. Theſe are common circumſtances amongſt the Indians.

When they take captives in war, they are exceedingly cruel, treating the unhappy priſoners in ſuch a manner, that death would be preferable to life. They afterwards give them plenty of food, load them with burdens, and when they arrive at their towns, they muſt run the gauntlet. In this, the ſavages exerciſe ſo much cruelty, that one would think it impoſſible they ſhould ſurvive their ſufferings. Many are killed; but if one outlives this trial, he is adopted into a family as a ſon, and treated with paternal kindneſs; and if he avoids their ſuſpicions of going away, is allowed the ſame privileges as their own people.

THE CONCLUSION.

HAVING finiſhed my intended narrative, I ſhall cloſe with a few obſervations upon the happy circumſtances, that the inhabitants of Kentucky will probably enjoy, from the poſſeſſion of a country ſo extenſive and fertile.

There are four natural qualities neceſſary to promote the happineſs of a country, viz. A good ſoil, air, water, and trade. Theſe taken collectively,

collectively, excepting the latter, Kentucky poſſeſſes in a ſuperior degree: and, agreeable to our deſcription of the weſtern trade, we conclude, that it will be nearly equal to any other on the continent of America, and the diſadvantages it is ſubject to, be fully compenſated by the fertility of the ſoil

This fertile region, abounding with all the luxuries of nature, ſtored with all the principal materials for art and induſtry, inhabited by virtuous and ingenious citizens, muſt univerſally attract the attention of mankind, being ſituated in the central part of the extenſive American empire (the limits of whoſe ample domains, as deſcribed in the ſecond article of the late definitive treaty, are ſubjoined,) where agriculture, induſtry, laws, arts and ſciences, flouriſh; where afflicted humanity raiſes her drooping head; where ſprings a harveſt for the poor; where conſcience ceaſes to be a ſlave, and laws are no more than the ſecurity of happineſs; where nature makes reparation for having created man; and government, ſo long proſtituted to the moſt criminal purpoſes, eſtabliſhes an aſylum in the wilderneſs for the diſtreſſed of mankind.

The recital of your happineſs will call to your country all the unfortunate of the earth, who, having experienced oppreſſion, political or religious, will there find a deliverance from their chains. To you innumerable multitudes will

will emigrate from the hateful regions of despotism and tyranny; and you will surely welcome them as friends, as brothers; you will welcome them to partake with you of your happiness.—Let the memory of Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, who banished covetousness, and the love of gold from his country; the excellent Locke, who first taught the doctrine of toleration; the venerable Penn, the first who founded a city of brethren; and Washington, the defender and protector of persecuted liberty, be ever the illustrious examples of your political conduct. Avail yourselves of the benefits of nature, and of the fruitful country you inhabit.

Let the iron of your mines, the wool of your flocks, your flax and hemp, the skins of the savage animals that wander in your woods, be fashioned into manufactures, and take an extraordinary value from your hands. Then will you rival the superfluities of Europe, and know that happiness may be found, without the commerce so universally desired by mankind.

In your country, like the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, a land of brooks, of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and all kinds of fruits, you shall eat bread without scarceness, and not lack any thing in it; where you are neither chilled

with

with the cold of Capricorn, nor ſcorched with the burning heat of Cancer; the mildneſs of your air ſo great, that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs, nor peſtilential vapours. Thus, your country, favoured with the ſmiles of heaven, will probably be inhabited by the firſt people the world ever knew.

ARTICLE II. *of the late* DEFINITIVE TREATY.

AND that all diſputes which might ariſe in future on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, viz. From the N. W. angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix River along the ſaid highlands, which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence; from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-weſtern-moſt head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude;

titude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the Iroquois, or Cataraqui; thence along the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie; through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through lake Superior northward of the isles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most N. W. point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude; south, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catanouche; thence along the middle

middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from thoſe which fall into the river St Lawrence, comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

ROAD

ROAD from PHILADELPHIA to the Falls of the Ohio by Land.

	M	M.D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaſter	66	
To Wright's on Suſquehannah	10	76
To York-town - -	12	88
Abbott's-town - -	15	103
Hunter's-town - -	10	113
the Mountain at Black's Gap	3	116
the other ſide of the Mountain	7	123
the Stone-houſe Tavern -	25	148
Wadkin's Ferry on Potowmack	14	162
Martinſburg - -	13	175
Winchester - -	20	195
Newtown - -	8	203
Stover's-town - -	10	213
Woodſtock - -	12	225
Shanandoah River - - -	15	240
the North branch of Shanandoah	29	269
Stanton - - -	15	284
the North Fork of James River	37	123
James River - -	18	339
Botetourt Court-houſe -	12	351
Woods's on Catauba River	21	372
Paterſon's on Roanoak -	9	381
the Allegany Mountain - -	8	389
New River - - -	12	401
the Forks of the Road -	16	417
Fort Chiſſel - -	12	429

a Stone

	M	M.D.
A Stone Mill - -	11	440
Boyd's - -	8	448
Head of Holſtein - -	5	453
To Waſhington Court-houſe -	45	498
the Block-houſe - -	35	533
Powel's Mountain -	33	566
Walden's Ridge	3	569
the Valley Station -	4	573
Martin Cabbin's - -	25	598
Cumberland Mountain -	20	618
the Fork of Cumberland River	13	631
the Flat Lick - -	9	640
Stinking Creek - -	2	642
Richland Creek - -	7	649
Down Richland Creek -	8	657
Rackoon Spring - -	6	663
Laurel River - -	2	665
Hazle Patch - -	15	680
the Ford on Rock Caſtle River	10	690
Engliſh's Station -	25	715
Col. Edwards's at Crab Orchard	3	718
Whitley's Station - -	5	723
Logan's Station - -	5	728
Clark's Station - -	7	735
Crow's Station - -	4	739
Harrod's Station - -	3	742
Harland's - - -	4	746
Harbiſon's - -	10	756
Bard's-town - -	25	781
the Salt-works - -	25	806
the Falls of the Ohio - -	20	826

Kentucky is situated about south, 60° west from Philadelphia, and, on a straight line, may be about six hundred miles distant from that city.

ROAD and Distance from PHILADELPHIA to PITTSBURG.

	M.	M.D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaster	66	
To Middle-town -	26	92
To Harris's Ferry - -	10	102
Carlisle - - -	17	119
Shippensburg - -	21	140
Chamber's-town - -	11	151
Fort Loudon - -	13	164
Fort Littleton - -	18	182
Juniata Creek - - -	19	201
Bedford - - -	14	215
the Foot of the Allegany Mountains	15	230
Stony Creek - -	15	242
the East side of Laurel Hill	12	227
Fort Ligonier - -	9	266
Pittsburg - - -	54	320

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to communicate a distinct idea of the present complexion of the state of Kentucky, I have drawn a map from the best authorities, from which you will discern that Kentucky is already divided into nine counties; and that villages are springing up in every part within its limits, while roads have been opened to shorten the distance to Virginia, and to smooth the rugged paths, which a short time since were our only tracts of communication from one place to another.

You must have observed in a note I annexed to my last letter, the security Kentucky enjoys from the cordon of troops extending upon the western side of the Ohio; and you have only to contemplate the advanced settlements on that side of the river, I presume to become perfectly convinced of our permanent safety from the attacks of the Indians.

At the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, a settlement has been formed, which, united with the settlements on Elk River, makes it sufficiently populous to become a distinct county of Virginia, by the name of Kenhaway: so that if you look on either quarter of Ken-

tucky, you will find its frontiers are guarded by ſettlements nearly adult.

Galliapolis, upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, and extending to the Sciota River, ſettled by the French, forms a barrier to the north; the forts, and the different ſettlements contagious to them, to the weſt; Cumberland to the ſouth; and upon our back, or eaſt, you will obſerve the diſtance through the wilderneſs, which ſeparates us from the back counties of Virginia, is rapidly contracting by the approximation of our ſettlements with thoſe of Virginia and North Carolina, and which will very ſoon cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern tribes of Indians.

There were two expeditions from Kentucky performed againſt the Indians in 1791, under the command of Generals Scott and Wilkinſon, that I have not hitherto noticed, and which had for their object the chaſtiſement of a predatory, trubleſome, and warlike tribe, who lived in ſeveral detatched towns upon the Wabaſh and its waters.

The particulars of thoſe expeditions I do not think have been generally known in Europe, and as they were undertaken when I was abſent from the country, I ſhall ſubjoin an extract from a letter I received from a friend, who formed one of the party; and which, I

flatter

flatter myself, will be found to contain a considerable share of information, both as to the manner and address of the Kentuckians in Indian warfare, and a more minute account of the country lying between the Ohio and the Wabash.

"General Scott, at the head of 800 Kentucky Volunteers, marched from opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, about the beginning of June, the course he steered was about north 20° west, and in about fifteen days he struck and surprised the lower Weauctaneau towns on the Wabash River, and the pararie adjoining; but unfortunately the river at that time was not fordable, or the Kickapoo Town on the north-west side, with the Indians who escaped in their canoes from the Weau Town on the south, must have fallen completely into our hands; however, about 20 warriors were killed in the Weau villages, and in the river crossing the Wabash, and 47 of their Squaws and children taken prisoners.

"Immediately after the engagement, a council of war was called, when it was determined, that Wilkinson should cross the Wabash under cover of the night, with a detachment of four hundred men, and endeavour to surprise the town of Kathtippacamunck, which was situated upon the north side of that river, at the mouth of Rippacanoe Creek, and about twenty miles above the Lower Weau towns. This expedi-

tion was conducted with so much caution and celerity, that Wilkinson arrived at the margin of the pararie, within a mile, and to the west of the town, about an hour before the break of day; whilst a detachment was taking a circuit through the pararie to co-operate with the main body on a given signal; day appeared, and the volunteers rushed into the town with an impetuosity not to be resisted. The detachment in advance reached the Rippacanoe Creek the very moment the last of the Indians were crossing, when a very brisk fire took place between the detachment and the Indians on the opposite side, in which several of their warriors were killed, and two of our men wounded.

"This town, which contained about 120 houses, 80 of which were shingle roofed, was immediately burnt and levelled with the ground; the best houses belonged to French traders, whose gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and, every thing considered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public, and private rooms; and the whole marked a considerable share of order, and no small degree of civilization.

"Wilkinson returned with his detatchment after destroying the town, and joined the main army about seven in the evening; and

and the day following our little army were put in motion with their prisoners; and steering about south, in twelve days reached the Rapids of the Ohio, with the loss of only two men, who unfortunately were drowned in crossing Main White River.

"The success of this expedition encouraged Government to set another on foot, under the command of General Wilkinson; which was destined to operate against the same tribes of Indians; whose main town, near the mouth of Ell River, on the Wabash, had not been attacked in the first excursion; and accordingly, on the first of August following, the general, at the head of 500 mounted volunteers, marched from fort Washington, north 16° west, steering, as it were, for the Manmic, villages on the Picaway Fork of the Manmic (or Miami of the Lake) and St. Mary's River—This movement was intended as a feint, and the Indians, who afterwards fell upon our trail, were completely deceived; nor did we change our course, until by the capture of a Delaware Indian, we ascertained that we were within 30 miles of the principal of the Manmic villages, and having marched down our northing, at the very time we received the information, shifted our course to due west, and at the distance of 180 miles from Fort Washington we struck the Wabash within two miles and a half of Longuille, or, as the Indians call it, Ken-

Kenapacomaqua—It was about 4 P. M. when we reached that river, and croſſing it immediately, we marched in four columns acroſs the neck of land, formed by the junction of the Wabaſh and Ell Rivers: paſſing ſeveral Indian war poſts that had been freſh painted, we arived completelyconcealed on the ſouth bank of EllRiver, and directly oppoſite the town of Kenapacomaqua.

"The ſurpriſe of this town was ſo very complete, that before we received orders to croſs the river and ruſh upon the town, we obſerved ſeveral children playing on the tops of the houſes, and could diſtinguiſh the hilarity and merriment that ſeemed to crown the feſtivity of the villagers, for it was in the ſeaſon of the green corn dance.

"The want of day-light,and a moraſs, that nearly encircled the town, prevented us from ſuddenly attacking, which enabled ſeveral of the Indians to eſcape; and in ſome meaſure obſcured the brilliancy of the enterprize, by limiting the number of warriors killed to eleven, and capturing forty Squaws and their children, after burning all the houſes, and deſtroying about 200 acres of corn; which was then in the milk, and in that ſtage when the Indians prepare it for Zaſſomanony. This ſucceſs was atchieved with the loſs of two men, who were killed.

"About

"About four o'clock in the afternoon we mounted our prisoners, and took a west and by north course toward the Little Kickapoo Town, which the general hoped to surprize on his way to the Great Kickapoo Town, in the pararie, on the waters of the Illinois River; but the difficulties we encountered in this march, through these almost boundless pararies, were such, that upon our arrival at the Little Kickapoo Town, we found one half the horses in the army non-effective, and unlikely to reach the Ohio, by the nearest course we could take; which consideration induced the general to relinquish the enterprize against the Great Kickapoo Town; and, accordingly, after destroying about 200 acres of corn at Kaththippacanunck, Kickapoo, and the lower Weauctenau towns, we gained General Scot's return tract, and on the 21st of August, after a circuitous march of 486 miles, arrived with our prisoners at Louisville.

"In the course of this march, I had an opportunity of observing the general face of the country through which we passed.—Between Fort Washington, at the crossing of the Great Miami, where at present there is a considerable settlement under the protection of Fort Hamilton, a fine body of land is found, but which is very indifferently watered. The situation of Fort Hamilton is well chosen, as advantageous for defence, as pleasing to the eye;

eye; it ſtands on a narrow neck of land, commanding the Miami on N. W. and a pararie and ſheet of water on the N. E. about a mile wide, and two miles and an half long; from this pararie an abundant ſupply of forage may be got for the uſe of the army by repeated movings of a very fine natural graſs, from the month of June till the end of September. After paſſing the Miami River hills, on the weſt ſide, the country in places is broken, though, generally ſpeaking, from thence to the limits of our march, toward the Manmic villages the face of it is agreeably varied with hills and dales, well watered, and the timber moſtly ſuch as indicates a ſtrong and durable ſoil. Between the Manmic trace and our weſt line of march toward Kenapacomaqua, there are a number of beech ſwamps, which will require draining before they will admit of ſettlements being formed—there are however delightfully pleaſant and fertile ſituations on the Balemut and Salamine Rivers, which are only inferior to the woody plains of Kentucky in extent and climate. The pararie, in which was ſituated Kenapacomaqua, on the north bank of Ell River, is chiefly a moraſs, and produces little elſe, other than hazel, ſallow, a ſpecies of dwarf poplar, and a very coarſe, but luxuriant graſs; the latter of which covers moſtly the whole ſurface of the earth.—The ſame kind of pararie extends, with little alteration, until you approach

approach Kathtippacanunck, when the whole country gradually assumes a more pleasing and valuable appearance.

On our line of march from Kenapacomaqua to Kathtippacanunk (the distance of which from the traverses we were obliged to make to avoid impassable morasses, was sixty miles,) in several places, the prospect was only bounded by the natural horizon, the uniformity of which was here and there broken by the distant looming of a grove on the edge of the plane, which strongly resembled the projecting points of a coach clothed with wood, and seen by mariners at a distance from the shore.

"The situation of the late town of Kathtippacanunck was well chosen for beauty and convenience; it stood in the bosom of a delightful surrounding country on a very rich bottom, extending east and west, on the Wabash River about two miles; the bottom about half a mile wide, bounded on the east by Tippacanoe, and westward by a beautiful rising ground, skirted and clothed with thin woods—from the upper bank you command a view of the Wabash River, which is terminated by a towering growth of wood to the south, and Tippacanoe Creek to the East—the country in the rear from the upper bank spreads into a level pararie of firm, strong land, of an excellent quality, interspersed with copses, naked groves of trees, and high mounds of earth

earth of a regular and conical form, all of which conſpire to relieve the eye, and cheer the ſcene with a moſt agreeable variety. The top of this bank, which is level with the plane of the pararie, and about two hundred feet perpendicular from the bottom in which the town ſtood, forms an angle about 60°, and about midway there iſſues from its ſide two living fountains, which have hitherto conſtantly ſupplied the town with water.

" The country between Kathtippacanunck and the little Kickapoo town is beautiful beyond deſcription. The numerous breaks, and intermixture of woodland and plains, give the whole an air of the moſt perfect taſte; for nature here, in a propitious hour, and in a benignant mood, ſeems to have deſigned to prove, in beautifying, how far ſhe excels our utmoſt efforts, and the moſt laboured improvements of art.

" Between the Little Kickapoo town and the lower Weauſteneau towns, the land is of the firſt-rate quality—at the edge of the wood lands, and before your deſcend into the river bottoms, one of the moſt charming proſpects the imagination can form, diſplays itſelf in all the variegated pride of the moſt captivating beauty. From this place, through the glades and viſtas of the groves in the bottom, you catch a view of the meandering river, which ſilently ſteals through this ſmiling country,

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as if pregnant with its charms, and, as if it was hurrying to communicate its joys to leſs happy ſtreams. The bottoms of the Wabaſh on the oppoſite ſide are confined by a bluff bank nearly two hundred feet, which interrupts the proſpect, and runs parallel with the river—from the top of this bank a plain is ſeen ſtretching out to the eaſt and weſt as far as the eye can reach, without tree or buſh, covered with a moſt luxuriant herbage, and in every reſpect aſſuming the appearance of an highly improved and cultivated meadow.—The plain is terminated on the ſouth by a diſtant proſpect of the riſing woodlands, which, with a miſty bloom, and in all that azure beauty, ſo peculiar to theſe fair regions, here appears in all its ætherial luſtre; and ſeems finally loſt in combining with the clouds.

"The Briares extend about twenty-five miles ſouth of the Wabaſh, from thence the country gradually breaks into hills and valleys, and until we reached the waters of White River, we found the ſoil tolerably good. There it is very much broken, the bottoms of the rivers are narrow, and ſubject to frequent and violent inundations.

"There is ſome tolerable good land on Rocky River, but as we approached the waters of the Blue River, the country again opens into plains, in which are interſperſed clumps of ſcrubby oak, dwarf laurel, plumb,

and hazel, that extend to Indian Creek, when the country again improves, and though it is rather broken, it continued to improve until we reached the Rapids of the Ohio."

What I formerly advanced respecting a new State being formed in ten years from that date, west of the Ohio, merely as conjecture, does not appear to me at present the least problematical.

The circumstances attending the rise of the State of Kentucky were infinitely more perilous and calamitous than extending our settlements farther westward are likely to be:--and when it is remembered that State rose, from an uninhabited wild, detached from every other country from which it would obtain supplies a distance of several hundred miles, and exposed on every quarter to the merciless fury of the savages, in a shorter period of time, and that our present infant settlements are protected by a strong and active military force, directed by fatal and improved experience of our former misfortunes, with a cultivated country at their back, which pours forth an abundance of resources to support them against the effects of contingencies and disasters, I think we may contemplate, with every degree of human certainty, the success of such a speculation.

The settlement at the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, which did not commence until

1785,

1785, and which was an æra when our weſtern affairs had a moſt gloomy aſpect, conſtitutes already, with the ſettlements above the river Elk, a diſtinct county, and in which the laws of the State to which it belongs are adminiſtered with great preciſion and juſtice.

Galleapolis and the ſettlements upon the Miami increaſe daily in ſtrength, while freſh encouragement and ſecurity are given to emigrants by the vigilance of the army in their neighbourhood; who ſo completely overawe the Indians, that little harm in future can be dreaded from their incurſions, and they well know their partial ſucceſſes hitherto were owing to the folly of our war miniſter, and the inexperience of the officers of his appointment---but the ſyſtem has been completely changed---and the ſucceſs of Wilkinſon and Scot's expedition is amply ſufficient to juſtify the meaſure.

REPORT

OF THE

SECRETARY OF STATE.

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

OF THE

QUANTITY AND SITUATION

OF THE

LANDS NOT CLAIMED BY THE INDIANS, NOR GRANTED TO NOR CLAIMED BY ANY CITIZENS,

WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

READ IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *NOV.* 10, 1791.

The SECRETARY OF STATE, to whom was referred by the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, the Reſolution of Congreſs, requeſting the Preſident '*to cauſe an eſtimate to be laid before Congreſs at their next ſeſſion, of the quantity and ſituation of the* LANDS *not claimed by the Indians, nor granted to, nor claimed by any citizens of the United States, within the territory ceded to the United States by the State of North-Carolina, and within the territory of the United States, North-weſt of the river Ohio,* makes thereon the following

REPORT.

THE territory ceded by the State of North-Carolina to the United States, by deed bearing date the 25th day of February 1790, is bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning in the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, that is to ſay, in the parallel of latitude 36½ degrees north from the equator, on the extreme height of the Stone Mountain, where the ſaid boundary or parallel interſects it, and running thence along the ſaid extreme height to the place where Wataugo River breaks through it; thence a direct courſe to

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the top of the Yellow Mountain, where Bright's Road croſſes the ſame; thence along the ridge of the ſaid mountain between the waters of Doe River and the waters of Rock Creek, to the place where the road croſſes the Iron Mountain; from thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to where Nilichuckey River runs through the ſame; thence to the top of the Bald Mountain: thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the Painted Rock, on French Broad River; thence along the higheſt ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the place where it is called the Great Iron or Smoaky Mountain; thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the place where it is called Unaka mountain, between the Indian towns of Cowee and Old Chota; thence along the main ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the ſouthern boundary of the ſaid State of North-Carolina, that is to ſay, to the parallel of latitude 35 degrees north from the equator; thence weſtwardly along the ſaid boundary or parallel, to the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi; thence up the middle of the ſaid river to where it is interſected, by the firſt mentioned parallel of 36½ degrees; thence along the ſaid parallel to the beginning: which tract of country is a degree and a half of latitude from north to ſouth, and about 360 miles, in general, from eaſt to weſt, as nearly as

as may be eſtimated from ſuch maps as exiſt of that country.

The Indians having claims within the ſaid tract of country, are the Cherokees and Chickaſaws, whoſe boundaries are ſettled by the treaties of Hopewell, concluded with the Cherokees on the twenty-eighth day of November 1785, and with the Chickaſaws, on the tenth day of January 1786, and by the treaty of Holſton, concluded with the Cherokees, July 2d, 1791. Theſe treaties acknowledge to the Indians all the lands weſtward and ſouthward of the following lines, to wit; beginning in the boundary between South and North-Carolina, where the South-Carolina Indian boundary ſtrikes the ſame; thence north to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that ſhall paſs the Holſten, at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little River from thoſe running into the Tenaſee; thence up the river Clinch to Campbell's Line, and along the ſame to the top of the Cumberland Mountain; thence in a direct courſe towards the Cumberland River, where the Kentucky road croſſes it, as far as the Virginia line, or parallel aforeſaid, of 36½ degrees; thence weſtwardly, or eaſtwardly, as the cauſe ſhallbe, along the ſaid line or parallel to the point thereof, which is due north-eaſt from another point to be taken on the dividing ridge of Cumberland and Duck Rivers, 40 miles

miles from Nashville; thence south-west to the point last mentioned, on the said dividing ridge, and along the said dividing ridge north-westwardly, to where it is intersected by the said Virginia line, or parallel of 36½ degrees. So that there remained to the United States, the right of pre-emption of the lands westward and southward of the said lines, and the absolute right to those northward thereof, that is to say; to one parcel to the eastward, somewhat triangular, comprehending the counties of Sullivan and Washington, and parts of those of Greene and Hawkins, running about 150 miles from east to west, on the Virginia boundary, as its base, and between 80 and 90 miles from north to south, where broadest; and containing, as may be conjectured, without pretending to accuracy, between seven and eight thousand square miles, or about five millions of acres: and to one other parcel to the westward, somewhat triangular also, comprehending parts of the counties of Sumner, Davidson, and Tanniffee, the base whereof extends about 150 miles also, from east to west, on the same Virginia line, and its height, from north to south, about 55 miles, and so may comprehend about four thousand square miles, or upwards of two and a half millions of acres of land.

Within these triangles, however, are the following clams of citizens, reserved by the

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the deed of ceffion, and conſequently forming exceptions to the rights of the United States.

I. Appropriations by the State of North-Carolina, for their continental and ſtate officers and ſoldiers.

II. Grants and titles to grants veſted in individuals by the laws of the State.

III. Entries made in Armſtrong's Office under an act of that State, of 1783, for the redemption of ſpecie and other certificates.

The claims covered by the firſt reſervation are.

1ſt, The bounties in land given by the ſaid State of North-Carolina, to their continental line, in addition, to thoſe given by Congreſs; theſe were to be located within a diſtrict bounded northwardly by the Virginian line, and ſouthwardly by a line parallel thereto, and 55 miles diſtant: weſtwardly, by the Tanniſſee, and eaſtwardly by the meridian of the interſection of the Virginia line, and Cumberland River; grants have accordingly iſſued for 1,239,498 acres, and warrants for the further quantity of 1,549,726 acres, making together 2,789,224 acres.

It is to be noted, that the ſouth-weſtern and ſouth-eaſtern angles of this diſtrict, conſtituting perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the whole, are ſouth of the lines eſtabliſhed by the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton, and conſequently in a country wherein the Indian title

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is acknowledged and guaranteed by the United States. No information is received of the exact proportion of the locations made within these angles.

2d, Bounties in land to Evan's battalion, raised for State purposes. These were to be taken west of the Cumberland Mountain. The locations are not yet made.

The second reservation covers the following claims:

1. Lands for the surveyor-general's fees for laying out the military bounties, to be located in the military district. The grants already issued on this account amount to 30,203 acres.

2. Grants to Isaac Shelby, Anthony Bledsoe, and Absalom Tatum, commissioners for laying out the military bounties: and to guards, chain-carriers, markers, and hunters, who attended them, already issued to the amount of 65,932 acres, located in the military district.

3. Entries in Washington county, amounting to 746,362½ acres; for 214.549½ which grants have already issued. Of the remaining 531,812¾ acres, a considerable proportion were declared void by the laws of the State, and were particularly excluded from the cover of the reservation in the deed of cession, by this clause in it, to wit. "Provided that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to

to extend, to the making good any entry or entries, or any grant or grants, heretofore declared void, by any act or acts of the General Assembly of this State." Still it is to be considered, that many of these persons have settled and improved the lands, are willing, as it is said, to comply with such conditions as shall be required of other purchasers, from a strong barrier on the new frontier, acquired by the treaty of Holston, and are therefore objects meriting the consideration of the Legislature.

4. Entries in Sullivan county, amounting to 240,624 acres; for 173,332 acres of which, grants have already issued; of the remaining, entries, many are certified void, and others understood to be lapsed or otherwise voidable under the laws of the State.

5. Certain pre-emption rights granted to the first settlers of Davidson county, on Cumberland River, amounting to 390,760 acres.

6. A grant of 200,000 acres to Richard Henderson and others on Powel's and Clinch's Rivers, extending up Powel's River in a breadth of not less than 4 miles, and down Clinch's from their junction in a breadth not less than 12 miles. A great part of this is within the Indian territory.

Among the grants of the State now under recapitulation, as forming exceptions out of the absolute rights of the United States, are

not to be reckoned here two grants of 2,000 acres each to Alexander Martin and David Wilſon, adjacent to the lands allotted to the officers and ſoldiers; nor a grant of 25,000 acres on Duck River to the late Major General Greene; becauſe they are wholly within the Indian territory, as acknowledged by the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton.

The extent of the third reſervation in favor of entries made in Armſtrong's Office is not yet entirely known, nor can be till the 20th of December 1792, the laſt day given for perfecting them: the ſum of certificates however, which had been paid for theſe warrants into the treaſury of the State, before the 20th day of May 1790, reaches in all probability near to their whole amount; this was £373,649: 6s: 5d. currency of that State, and at the price of £10 the hundred acres, eſtabliſhed by law, ſhews that warrants had iſſued for 3,736,493 acres; for 1,762,660 of theſe grants have paſſed, which appear to have been located partly in the counties of Greene and Hawkins, and partly in the country from thence to the Miſſiſſippi, as divided into Eaſtern, Middle, and Weſtern diſtricts. Almoſt the whole of theſe locations, are within the Indian territory. Beſides the warrants paid for as before mentioned, it is known that there are ſome others outſtanding and not paid for; but perhaps theſe need not be taken into account, as payment of them

them has been disputed on the ground, that the lands being within the Indian territory, cannot now be delivered to the holders of the warrants.

On a review of all the reservations, after making such conjectural allowance as our information authorizes, for the proportion of them, which may be within the Indian boundaries, it appears probable that they cover all the ceded lands susceptible of culture, and cleared of the Indian title, that is to say, all the habitable parts of the two triangles before mentioned, excepting only the lands south of the French Broad, and Big Pigeon Rivers. These were part of the tract appropriated by the laws of the State to the use of the Indians, whose title being purchased at the late treaty of Holston, they are now free to be disposed of by the United States, and are probably the only lands open to their disposal, within this south-western territory, which can excite the attention of purchasers. They are supposed to amount to about 300,000 acres, and we are told that 300 families have already set down upon them without right or license.

The territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio, is bounded on the north by that river, on the east by Pennsylvania, on the north and west by the lines which divide the United States from the dominions of Great Britain and Spain.

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The part of this territory occupied by Indians, is north and west of the following lines, established with the Wiandots, Delawares, Chippawas, and Ottawas, by the treaty of Fort M'Intosh; and, with the Shawanese, by that of the Great Miami, to wit: beginning at the mouth of the Cayahoga, and running up the river to the portage, between that and the Tuscaroras branch of the Muskingum, then down the said branch to the Forks, at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, then westwardly, towards the portage of the Big Miami, to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami to the fork of that river next below the old Fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due west to the river De la Panse, and down that river to the Wabash. So far the lines are precisely defined, and the whole country southward of these lines, and eastward of the Wabash cleared of the claims of those Indians, as it is also of those of the Poutiwatimas, and Sacs, by the treaty of Muskingum. How far on the other side of the Wabash, the southern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only understood in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, has been formally extinguished by the French, while in their possession. As to that country then, and what lies still beyond the Illinois, is would seem expedient that nothing

thing be done, till a fair aſcertainment of boundary can take place, by mutual conſent, between us and the Indians intereſted.

The country within the Wabaſh, the Indian line before deſcribed, the Pennſylvania line, and the Ohio, contains, on a looſe eſtimate, about 55,000 ſquare miles, or 35 millions of acres.

During the Britiſh government, great numbers of perſons had formed themſelves into companies under different names, ſuch as the Ohio, the Wabache, the Illinois, the Miſſiſſippi, or Vandalia companies, and had covered, with their applications, a great part of this territory. Some of them had obtained orders on certain conditions, which, having never been fulfilled, their titles were never completed by grants. Others were only in a ſtate of negociation, when the Britiſh authority was diſcontinued. Some of theſe claims being already under a ſpecial reference by order of Congreſs, and all of them probably falling under the operation of the ſame principles, they will not be noticed in the preſent report.

The claims of citizens to be here ſtated will be,

I. Thoſe reſerved by the States in their deeds of ceſſion.

II. Thoſe which have ariſen under the government of the United States themſelves.

Under the firſt head preſents itſelf the tract of country from the completion of the 41ſt degree, to 42 deg 2 min. of north latitude, and extending from the Pennſylvania line before mentioned, 120 miles weſtward, not mentioned in the deed of Connecticut, while all the country weſtward thereof was mentioned to be ceded; about two and a half millions of acres of this may perhaps be without the Indian lines before mentioned.

2. A reſervation in the deed of Virginia of the poſſeſſions and titles of the French and Canadian inhabitants and other ſettlers of the Kaſkaſkias, St. Vincent's, and the neighbouring villages, who had profeſſed themſelves citizens of Virginia, which rights have been ſettled by an act of the laſt ceſſion of Congreſs, entitled, "An act for granting lands to the inhabitants and ſettlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory northweſt of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their poſſeſſions." Theſe lands are in the neighbourhood of the ſeveral villages.

3. A reſervation in the ſame deed of a quantity not exceeding 150,000 acres of land for General George Rogers Clarke, and the officers and ſoldiers of his regiment who were at the reduction of Kaſkaſkias, and St. Vincent's, to be laid off in ſuch place on the north-weſt ſide of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers ſhould chooſe. They choſe they ſhould be laid

laid off on the river adjacent to the Rapids, which accordingly has been done.

4. A reservation, in the same deed, of lands between the Sciota and Little Miami, to make up to the Virginia troops on continental establishment the quantity which the good lands, in their southern allotments, might fall short of the bounties given them by the laws of that State. By a statement of the 16th of September, 1788, it appears that 724,045⅔ acres had been surveyed for them on the south-eastern side of the Ohio; that 1,395,385¼ acres had been surveyed on the north-western side; that warrants for 649,649 acres more, to be laid off on the same side of the river, were in the hands of the surveyor, and it was supposed there might still be some few warrants not yet presented; so that this reservation may be stated at 2,015,034¾ acres, or perhaps some small matter more.

II. The claims of individual citizens derived from the United States themselves are the following:

1. Those of the continental army, founded on the resolutions of Congress of September 16, 1776, August 12, and September 30, 1785, and fixed by the ordinance of May 20, 1785. The resolution of October 22, 1787, and the supplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, in the seven ranges of townships, beginning at a point on the Ohio, due north from the west-

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ern termination of a line then lately run, as the ſouthern boundary of Pennſylvania: or in a ſecond tract of a million of acres, bounded eaſt by the 7th range of the ſaid townſhips, ſouth by the lands of Cutler and Sargent; north, by an extenſion of the northern boundary of the ſaid townſhips; and going towards the weſt ſo far as to include the above quantity; or laſtly, in a third tract of country; beginning at the mouth of the Ohio, and running up the Miſſiſſippi to the river Au Vauſe, thence up the ſame till it meets a weſt line from the mouth of the Little Wabaſh; thence along that line to the Great Wabaſh; thence down the ſame and the Ohio to the beginning. The ſum total of the ſaid military claims is 1,851,800 acres.

2. Thoſe of the individuals who made purchaſes of land at New York, within the ſaid ſeven ranges of townſhips, according to the reſolutions of Congreſs of April 12, 1787, and the ſupplementary ordinance of July 9, 1781, which claims amount to 150,896 acres.

3. The purchaſe of one million and a half acres of land by Cutler and Sargent, on behalf of certain individuals, aſſociated under the name of the Ohio company. This begins where the Ohio is interſected by the weſtern boundary of the 7th range of townſhips, and runs due north on that boundary 1306 chains and 25 links; thence due weſt to the weſtern boundary of the 17th range of townſhips; thence

thence due south to the Ohio, and up that river to the beginning; the whole area containing 1,781,760 acres of land, whereof 281,760 acres, consisting of various lots and townships, are reserved to the United States.

4. The purchase by the same Cutler and Sargent on behalf also of themselves and others. This begins at the north-eastern angle of the tract of their purchase before described, and runs due north to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio; thence due west, to the Scioto; thence down the same, and up the Ohio to the south western angle of the said purchase before described, and along the western and northern boundaries thereof to the beginning; the whole area containing 4,901,480 acres of land, out of which, however, five lots, to wit, Nos. 8, 11, 16, 26, and 29 of every township, of six miles square, are retained by the United States, and out of the whole are retained the three townships of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrun, and Salem; and certain lands around them, as will be hereafter mentioned.

5. The purchase of John Cleve Symmes, bounded on the west by the Great Miami; on the south by the Ohio; on the east by a line which is to begin on the bank of the Ohio 20 miles from the mouth of the great Miami, as measured along the several courses of the Ohio, and to run parallel with the general course of the said Great Miami; and on the

north

north by an eaſt and weſt line, ſo run as to include a million of acres in the whole area, whereof five lots, numbered as before mentioned, are reſerved out of every townſhip by the United States.

It is ſuggeſted that this purchaſer under colour of firſt and larger propoſition to the board of treaſury, which was never cloſed, (but pending that propoſition), ſold ſundry parcels of land, between this eaſtern boundary before mentioned, and the Little Miami: and that the purchaſers have ſettled thereon. If theſe ſuggeſtions prove true, the ſettlers will, perhaps, be thought to merit the favour of the legiſlature, as purchaſers for valuable conſideration, and without notice of the defect of title.

The contracts for lands which were at one time under conſideration with Meſſrs. Flin and Parker, and with Col. Morgan, were never ſo far proſecuted as to bring either party under any obligation. All proceedings thereon were diſcontinued at a very early ſtage, and it is ſuppoſed that no further views exiſt with any party. Theſe, therefore, are not to be enumerated among exiſting claims.

6. Three townſhips were reſerved by the ordinance of May 20, 1785, adjacent to Lake Erie, for refugees from Canada and Nova-Scotia, and for other purpoſes, according to reſolutions of Congreſs, made or to be made on that

that ſubject. Theſe would of courſe contain 69,120 acres.

7. The ſame ordinance of May 20, 1785, appropriated the three towns of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrun, and Salem on the Muſkingum, for the Chriſtian Indians formerly ſettled there, or the remains of that ſociety, with the grounds round about them, and the quantity the ſaid circumjacent grounds, for each of the ſaid towns, was determined by the reſolution of Congreſs of September 3d, 1788, to be ſo much as, with the plot of its reſpective town, ſhould make up 4000 acres; ſo that the three towns and their circumjacent lands were to amount to 12,000 acres. This reſervation was accordingly made out of the larger purchaſe of Cutler and Sargent, which comprehended them. The Indians, however, for whom the reſervation was made, have choſen to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, ſo that the lands reſerved for them ſtill remain to the United States.

On the whole, it appears that the United States may rightfully diſpoſe of all the lands between the Wabaſh, the Ohio, Pennſylvania, the forty-firſt parallel of latitude, and the Indian lines deſcribed in the treaties of the Great Miami, and Fort M'Intoſh, with exceptions only of the rights ſaved by the deed of ceſſion of Virginia, and of all rights legally derived from the government of the United States,

States, and supposing the parts south of the Indian lines, to contain as before conjectured, about 35 millions of acres, and that the claims of citizens before enumerated may amount to between thirteen and fourteen millions, there remain at the disposal of the United States upwards of twenty-one millions of acres, in this north-western quarter.

And though the want of actual surveys of some parts, and of a general delineation of the whole on paper, so as to exhibit to the eye the locations, forms, and relative positions of the rights before described, may prevent our forming a well defined idea of them at this distance, yet, on the spot these difficulties exist but in a small degree: the individuals there employed in the details of buying, selling, and locating, possess local information of the parts which concern them, so as to be able to keep clear of each other's rights; or, if in some instances a conflict of claims should arise, from any want of certainty in their definition, a local judge will doubtless be provided to decide them without delay, at least provisionally. Time, instead of clearing up these uncertainties, will cloud them the more, by the death or removal of witnesses, the disappearance of lines and marks, change of parties, and other casualties.

TH. JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.

November 8, 1791.

THOUGHTS

ON

EMIGRATION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS,

RELATING TO

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

AND

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

STATE OF KENTUCKY.

"Where liberty is, there is our country."

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the following obſervations are written in the Engliſh language, in conſequence of its being moſt familiar to the perſons by whom they are ſuggeſted; yet it will be evident to an attentive reader, that they are in general applicable to the greater part of European States. In what degree they are applicable to England in particular, it would be preſumption to determine. That queſtion muſt be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the candid and judicious. Britain, it is true, though ſhe can boaſt a conſtitution which hath been the pride of her own ſons,—the admiration of foreign philoſophers,—and which will ever be the envy of foreign nobleſſe; cannot boaſt that her ſtrength and her beauty have been unimpaired by time, that her virtue hath uniformly reſiſted the inſidious corrupter.—Did ever any human inſtitution exiſt for centuries without being at all abuſed and deformed? What if our legiſlature *had* become corrupt,—our prelates, courtiers,—our ſpiritual guides, but blind leaders of the blind; what if our boroughs had become the theatres of

riot and cabal,—our courts of juſtice the ſchools of chicanery,—and our caſtles* the haunts of exciſemen; what if our arms had been employed to carry bloodſhed and devaſtation to the remoteſt regions of the globe,—our revenue proſtituted to debauch the virtuous, and to reward the guilty,—our laws perverted to puniſh the patriot, and to ſcreen the incendiary; what if our burthens had been accumulated; what if our agriculture had been checked by tythes, our manufactures fettered by exciſes, and our commerce oppreſſed by monopolies;—ſtill ſhould we not ſhrink from the doctrine advanced by a celebrated republican, that the ſun of her glory is faſt deſcending to the horizon, that her philoſophy has croſſed the channel,—her freedom the Atlantic, and herſelf paſſing to that awful diſſolution, whoſe iſſue is not given human foreſight to ſcan§?

But we dare not make theſe aſſertions. We would aſſert nothing, which we are not warranted by high authority in aſſerting. By high authority,—the authority of the Houſe of Commons,—we are warranted in aſſerting, that "the influence of the crown hath increaſed,

* An appellation formerly given to the houſes of Engliſhmen.

§ Notes on the State of Virginia, by Thomas Jefferſon, 1787, page 111.

ed, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." By high authority,—the authority of his grace the Duke or Richmond,*—we are warranted in asserting, that "the number of persons who are suffered to vote for electing the members of the House of Commons, do not at this time amount to *one sixth* part of the whole commons of this realm, whereby far the greater part of the said commons are deprived of their right to elect their representatives, and the consent of the majority of the whole community to the passing of laws, is given by persons whom they have not delegated for that purpose, and the majority of the community, are governed by laws made by a very small part." By high authority,—the authority of the same Duke of Richmond,—the present Duke of Norfolk,—Earl Stanhope,—the right honourable William Pitt,§ &c. &c.—we are warranted in asserting, that "without a parliamentary reformation, neither the liberty of the nation can be preserved, nor the permanence of a wise and virtuous administration be secure."

It is the peculiar happiness of Britain that

 she

* See his bill entitled, "An act for declaring and restoring the natural, unalienable, and equal right of all the commons of Great Britain (infants, &c. excepted,) to vote in the election of their representatives."

§ See the resolutions at a numerous and respectable meeting of members of parliament, &c. May 16, 1782.

ſhe has now at the helm, men who have been ſenſible of the danger of the veſſel; and who have ſtood foremoſt to reſcue her from deſtruction. The nation relied much upon their integrity,—expected much from the ardour, the ſteadineſs, and the magnitude of their exertions. Nor has ſhe been entirely diſappointed. Ere a year had elapſed, with what zeal did the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the firſt Lord of the Treaſury, come forward in ſupport of a parliamentary reform? Ere ten years from the peace were accompliſhed, with what attention to the eaſe and intereſts of the people, did he with the aid of exemplary economy, and unparalleled ſkill in finance, relieve a nation burthened with nearly ſeventeen MILLIONS of taxes, of three hundred and twenty THOUSANDS, in conſequence of which amazing reduction, an individual who before paid in taxes twenty ſix pounds annually, will now pay little more than twenty five pounds ten ſhillings.

When in former times, did the people enjoy ſo much encouragement to ſeek a redreſs of grievances? When had they ever equal reaſon to deſire ſuch a reformation in parliament, as will ſecure "permanence to a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration?" Let them ſeek that reform, therefore by temperate and firm, and conſtitutional exertions. It is true indeed,

deed (if we may venture to adopt the ſevere language of his grace of Richmond*) "the people have been ſo often deceived, that they will now ſcarcely truſt any ſet of men:"—and if after all their pleaſing expectations, their exertions ſhould again prove ineffectual;—if after all, they ſhould have the mortification of ſeeing a body of men in whom all their hopes center, reluctantly retire from the poſt of honour and of duty, without being able to accompliſh their labours of patriotiſm;—it is then, and in ſuch circumſtances only, that the editors wiſh their fellow citizens to conſider the following reflections as addreſſed to Engliſhmen.

* Letter to Col. Sharman.

THOUGHTS

ON

EMIGRATION.

THE conſiderations which ſuggeſt themſelves to our minds upon this ſubject, we ſhall ſtate under the four following heads:

I. Reaſons for thinking of a removal.

II. The diſcouragements attending it.

III. The moſt eligible country for removing to.

IV. The ſteps to be taken by thoſe who have it in contemplation.

FIRST.

REASONS FOR REMOVING.

Among theſe may be mentioned,

1. *The difference of the public burthens in America, and in Europe.*

Upon an average, a family of ſix perſons, in one European ſtate, pays in taxes every year, upwards of ſeventeen pounds. In America,

rica, a family of the same size, pays only thirty shillings a year. Yet life, liberty, and property, are certainly, at this small expence, at least as well secured in America, as in this quarter of the globe.

" I defy (says the author of a valuable pamphlet) any person to produce, from the most despotic states, an instance of a nation labouring under such accumulated taxes and consequent distress, as that which presses upon the people of Great Britain. One half of the *quantum* of our grievances was found sufficient to overthrow the fabric of French tyranny, one half of the misery under which we groan, would raise, in the most absolute governments of Asia, a cry of vengeance! which would cause the tyrant to totter on his throne.

" I have travelled over a large proportion of the empire of Turkey, one of the most despotic countries in the world; and the relative situation of the people of Turkey, and that of England, appears to me to stand nearly as follows.—In Turkey, I found that a peasant or labouring mechanic, by three or four days moderate labour in the week, could maintain a numerous family of children: In England, on the contrary, the peasant or mechanic is often deterred from marriage by the difficulty of obtaining bread; and should he venture upon a wife, he finds that six days incessant labour scarcely enables him to support his family

through

through the week. In Turkey, the great body of the people participate largely in all the natural productions of the country: In England, on the contrary, the peasant, or labouring mechanic, is seldom permitted to indulge in the comforts of his climate, procured as they are by the labour of his hands: In Turkey, a man may be poor with impunity: a moderate man may sit down unmolested, in the philosophical enjoyments of temperance, and leisure rendered grateful, by the vicissitude of toil without fatigue. But in England, where the poor are persecuted as much as they are despised, relaxaiton from labour is a blessing which they never can enjoy. In such a country as this, it would be in vain for a man to say, My desires are far removed from the paths of ambition, I am satisfied with the simple produce of my garden; why, then, should I toil for ever?—But you must labour for me, cries his grace the Archbishop—and for me, cries the excisemen—and for me, and for me, and for me, exclaim a crowd of court parasites, and royal myrmydons; so that after submitting to their claims, and satisfying the demands of the landed pensioner, the poor man finds, that, of six days incessant toil, nothing remains to himself and his unhappy family, but a little black break to moisten with their tears." (A Review of the Constitution of Great Britain.)

Though

Though we have quoted this paſſage as containing a curious repreſentation of important facts; yet we would by no means avail ourſelves of it, as giving any additional weight to our arguments. Theſe, we would remind the reader, are to be applied to England, only upon the ſuppoſition that adminiſtration ſhould be unable to proſecute thoſe plans of reformation which men of the greateſt reſpectability in adminiſtration formerly delineated. And even with regard to its preſent condition, exceptions to the above eſtimate muſt undoubtedly be made in favour of the more proſperous counties, in the more proſperous ſtate of their manufactures.

2. *The difficulty of obtaining juſtice, from the expence of ſuits and the complication of the laws.*

We are perpetually told, that the laws are the ſame for the rich and for the poor. How long are we to be deluded with this impoſing ſophiſtry? We all know that a poor man would be cruſhed in ſeeking juſtice from the 'ſquire: and that the 'ſquire himſelf might be ruined, in vindicating his rights in oppoſition to the overgrown wealth of a peer.

Even in criminal caſes, we often ſuffer the ruffian and the plunderer to continue his depredations, rather than hazard his eſcape by legal

legal quibbles*, or incur the expence of bringing him to punishment.

3. *The intricacy of the laws, and the vexatious hindrance to substantial justice, from the frequent failure in the forms of proceedings.*

As an illustration of this observation, we would quote what Barlow says in reference to England in particular. "As to the general

* On Saturday, September 15th 1792, Isaac Moore, a letter-carrier, belonging to the General Post-Office, was tried for taking a bank-note out of *two* letters. It was proved that *one half* of the said note had been sent on the 21st of June, and the other half by the post on the following day,---that neither of the letters containing these halves, had been delivered to the person to whom they were directed, and that the same bank-note, joined together, had been offered, by the prisoner, in payment for a great coat. The jury pronounced him guilty. However, the counsel for the prisoner took a *legal* objection. In the preamble of the act of Parliament, for securing the safe delivery of letters, it is said "that for the better securing the safe delivery of a *letter or letters* containing, a *bank-note or bank-notes.*" These words, it was asserted, could not apply to the present case, because neither of the letters stolen, contained a *bank-note*, but only *half* a one.

The judge said, that the objection was worthy of consideration. He declined giving any opinion upon it now; BUT RESERVED IT FOR THE DETERMINATION OF THE TWELVE JUDGES.

ſyſtem of the laws, on which all property depends, no man in the kingdom knows them, and no man pretends to know them. They are a fathomleſs abyſs, that exceeds all human faculties to ſound. They are ſtudied not to be underſtood, but to be diſputed: not to give information, but to breed confuſion. The man whoſe property is depending on a ſuit at law, dares not look into the gulph that ſeparates him from the wiſhed for deciſion: he has no confidence in himſelf, nor in reaſon, nor in juſtice: he mounts on the back of a lawyer, like one of Mr. Burke's heroes in chivalry, between the wings of a griffin, and truſts the pilotage of a man, who is ſuperior to himſelf only in the confidence which reſults from having nothing at ſtake." (See Barlow's Advice to the privileged orders, page 126, &c.)

4. *The love of independence.*

To ſay nothing of the needleſs inequality of *rank*, it will ſuffice to obſerve, that in Europe the diviſion of property is ſo unequal, that in many places, the haughty, tyrannizing diſpoſition of the great land-holders, and the degrading ſervility of their dependents, cannot fail to remind one of the ages of feudal barbariſm. A debaſement of ſoul, aud a deſtructive ignorance, is the neceſſary effect upon both parties. In manufacturing countries, the evil

is

is ſcarcely leſſened. How precarious is the ſituation of our manufacturing labourers? What ſad reverſes do they experience, through the inſtability of trade: an inſtability, which induces extravagance and idleneſs in proſperous times, and gives poignancy to want and poverty when trade declines, tho' but for a ſeaſon. It has been remarked by a late hiſtorian of the city of Lyons, in France, that the life of the manufacturers there, (tho' the ſame as elſewhere) is ſo varified by too much hard labour, and too much diſſipation, by too frequent alterations of poverty and plenty, that a manufacturing family has never been able to rear a third generation. Too much, and too inceſſant labour for a period, induces ignorance, for it cuts off the means (the time) of knowledge: it induces drunkenneſs and diſſipation, and ultimately idleneſs; for relaxation being neceſſary, great earnings in a ſhort time, tempt to unneceſſary indulgence. Hence habitual diſſipation, vice and diſeaſe. And after all, what is the end of their labours? In a great part of our manufactories, the only end of them is to feed the vanity of thoſe called the great, inſtead of providing the real neceſſaries and comforts of life. The poor are overworked to gratify the pride of the rich: and one part of the community is kept in ignorance, for the ſake of ſupporting the other in vice. Children are torn from their parents:

the connection between parent and child is prematurely cut off: natural affection is extirpated :---some of them become victims to avarice, whilſt others are returned from the factories to their reſpective pariſhes, uſeleſs members of the community, with conſtitutions probably very much impaired, and in no reſpect trained for that ſituation in life, which is afterwards to afford them the means of an honeſt livelihood. When conſidering ſuch facts as theſe, Europeans have no great reaſon to congratulate themſelves in the aſſylum which our manufactories afford from the ſcorns and oppreſſion of the lords of the ſoil.

In America, both the laws and the ſtate of ſociety, form a barrier againſt theſe evils.—There the labourer feels his importance: becauſe labour is ſcarce, and land abundant.—The principal employments are the cultivating of the earth, and providing the cultivators of the earth with houſes, and cloathing, and furniture, and utenſils. Little therefore depends upon the caprice of faſhion: and tolerably good workmen are ſure to find employment. Nor is the tradeſman reſtrained by corporation laws, from ſitting up his buſineſs. He is free of the whole country. Nor is the huſband-man humbled and harraſſed by feudal ſervices to a lord, by tythes or by game-laws. Land itſelf is not ſo monopolized as to be out of the reach of a perſon of ſmall property.

perty. For a very inconſiderable ſum, he may have as much as he could wiſh, and may call it his own*.

"Society (obſerves the American Farmer), "is not compoſed, as in Europe, of great lords who poſſeſs every thing, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no ariſtocratical families, no courts, no kings, no

* The unoccupied lands are ſold by the ſtate (Pennſylvania) for about ſix guineas, incluſive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as moſt of the lands that are ſettled, are procured from perſons who had purchaſed them from the ſtate, they are ſold to the firſt ſettler for a much higher price. The quality of the ſoil; its vicinity to mills, court-houſes, places of worſhip, and navigable water; the diſtance of land carriage to the ſea ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the firſt ſettler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumſtances, influence the price of farms to the ſecond and third ſettlers. Hence the price of land to the firſt ſettler is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre, and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the ſecond and third ſettlers, according as the land is varied by the before mentioned circumſtances. When the firſt ſettler is unable to purchaſe, he often takes a tract of land for ſeven years on a leaſe, and contracts, inſtead of paying a rent in caſh, to clear fifty acres of land, to build a log cabin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this leaſe, ſells or rents, for a conſiderable profit. Morſe p. 316.

biſhops, no eccleſiaſtical dominion, no inviſible power giving to a few a very viſible one, no great manufactures employing thouſands, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not ſo far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to Weſt Florida. We are a people of cultivators, ſcattered over an immenſe territory, communicating with each other, by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the ſilken bands of mild government, all reſpecting the laws, without dreading their power, becauſe they are equitable. We are all animated with the ſpirit of an induſtry which is unfettered and unreſtrained, becauſe each perſon works for himſelf. If he travels through our rural diſtricts, he views not the hoſtile caſtle and the haughty manſion contraſted with the clay-built hut and miſerable cabin, where cattle and men help to keep each other warm, and dwell in meanneſs, ſmoke, and indigence. A pleaſing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations. The meaneſt of our log houſes is a dry and comfortable habitation. Lawyer or merchant are the faireſt titles our towns afford: that of a farmer is the only appellation the rural inhabitants of our country.

"In

" In this great American aſylum, the poor of Europe have by ſome means met together, and in conſequence of various cauſes. To what purpoſe ſhould they aſk one another what countrymen they are? Alas, two thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch, who wanders about, who works and ſtarves, whoſe life is a continual ſcence of ſore affliction or pinching penury; can that man call England or any other kingdom his country? A country that had no bread for him; whoſe fields procured him no harveſt; who met with nothing but the frowns of the rich, the ſeverity of the laws, with jails and puniſhments; who owned not a ſingle foot of the extenſive ſurface of this planet. No! Urged by a variety of motives here they came. Every thing has tended to regenerate them. New laws, a new mode of living, a new ſocial ſyſtem. Here they are become men. In Europe they were as ſo many uſeleſs plants, wanting vegetative mould and refreſhing ſhowers. They withered; and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war; but now, by the power of tranſplantation, like all other plants, they have taken root and flouriſhed! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil liſts of their country, except in thoſe of the poor: here they rank as citizens. By what inviſible power hath this ſurpriſing metamorphoſis been performed? By that of the laws and that of their induſtry. The laws,

laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, ſtamping on them the ſymbol of adoption: they receive ample rewards for their labours; theſe accumulated rewards procure them lands: thoſe lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can poſſibly require.

Europe contains hardly any other diſtinctions but lords and tenants; this fair country alone is ſettled by freeholders, the poſſeſſors of the ſoil they cultivate, members of the government they obey, and the framers of their own laws, by means of their repreſentatives. A hundred families, barely exiſting in ſome parts of Scotland, will here, in ſix years, cauſe an annual exportation of 10,000 buſhels of wheat: 100 buſhels being but a common quantity for an induſtrious family to ſell, if they cultivate good land. It is here then that the idle may be employed, the uſeleſs become uſeful, and the poor become rich; but by riches I do not mean gold and ſilver; we have but little of thoſe metals: I mean a better ſort of wealth; cleared lands, cattle good houſes, good cloathes, and an increaſe of people to enjoy them."

The following is an extract from a letter (dated June 14, 1791.) to a day labourer, at Aſhton in the Willows, from his ſon William Lomas, a tanner, and farmer of his own land, at Weſterly in Rhode Iſland.

"Pri-

" Prices of land in America are very variable according to the ſituation and ſoil. Near market towns, the ſea ſide, and navigable rivers, it is much higher, than back in the country. Land may be bought for 4, 5, 8, 10, 15, 30, 40, or 50. Engliſh crowns per acre. I ſhould adviſe a man in your country to go to York ſtate, the weſt and north parts of that ſtate being new, and juſt ſettling. I have been three times in that ſtate within a year, and like the land better than this way. There are twenty towns about ninety miles weſt from Albany ſurveyed, 25,000 acres: ſold in lots, 250 acres in a lot. I have been on the land, and think it very good land, clear of ſtones, and well watered. I with twelve more, have bought thirteen lots, at 2s. 3d. ſterling per acre. I don't think there is more than one town ſold yet. The firſt of December, 1790, it began to ſell about 100 miles weſt from that. I underſtand they join and take a town at leſs than 1s. per acre. I think not half that ſtate is ſettled, but ſettling faſt. Albany is near the head of tide water on Hudſon's river. If you want to be informed about our ſtates; read Morſe's American Geography. Rents are paid moſtly in produce: and produce ſells here,—Indian corn 2s. 3d.: rye 2s. 6d. wheat 4s. 6d. barley 2s. oats 1s. beans 3s. 4d. per buſhel. cyder filled at the preſs 3s. 4d, per barrel. beef and mutton 2d. to 2d.

2d.½ per pound. pork 2d½ per pound. beef in the fall 13s. to 15s. per hundred. This is ſterling."*

5. *The ambition of becoming citizens.*

The inhabitants of Europe are, for the moſt part, *ſubjects* but not *citizens*. They are under the terror of the laws; but they have no concern in making them. They are compelled to pay the taxes: but they have no voice to grant or to with-hold them. They ſupport the public offices: but they are ſhut out from the enjoyment of them. Theſe are laviſhed upon the creatures of the ruling faction. It is otherwiſe in America. There every man feels and enjoys in its full extent, that importance which God and nature hath given to him.

6. *An attachment to religious equality, and to religious harmony.*

In America, you are not compelled to pay towards the propagation of a faith which you do not believe, or to the ſupport of a form of church diſcipline, which you hold to be uſeleſs, or ſlaviſh, or antichriſtian, or all of them.

* Compare the prices of land and proviſions mentioned in the preceding account of Kentucky.

You

You are not threatened with fines or imprisonment for any article of your creed, nor excluded from the common honours and offices of the state, on account of any singularities of worship. In America you are at liberty to maintain any religion, as God and your conscience dictate.

Hence rankling jealousies, furious anathemas, unchristian struggles for ascendency, are unknown. You may calmly enquire after truth: You may, with christian ardour and christian meekness assert it, without destroying good neighbourhood, without being reminded of the legal restraints upon heresy, or feeling the more terrible vengeance of illegal bigotry and violence. "Since the revolution, by which all denominations were put on an equal footing, there have been no disputes between different religious societies. They all agree to differ." (Morse, page 432.)

7. *The desire of providing for ones children, and of educating them in the habits of virtue.*

"In the old, long settled countries of Europe (observes Dr. Franklin) all arts, trades, professions, farms, &c. are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man who has children, to place them, where they may gain, or learn to gain a decent livelihood. The artisans, who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents

rents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are too frequently dragged up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become ſoldiers, ſervants or thieves, for a ſubſiſtence. In America the rapid increaſe of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalſhip, and artiſans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour during the remainder of the time ſtipulated, after they ſhall be inſtructed. Hence it is eaſy for poor families to get their children inſtructed, for the artiſans are ſo deſirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one: and many poor parents have by that means on their arrival in the country, raiſed money enough to buy land ſufficient to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to ſubſiſt the reſt of the family by agriculture. Theſe contracts for apprentices are made before a magiſtrate, who regulates the agreement according to reaſon and juſtice: and, having in view the formation of ſome uſeful citizen, obliges the maſter to engage by a written indenture, not only that during the time of ſervice ſtipulated, the apprentice ſhall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, waſhing and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete ſuit of clothes; but alſo that he ſhall be taught to read, write, and

and caſt accompts, and that he ſhall be well inſtructed in the art or profeſſion of his maſter, or ſome other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raiſe a family." (Information to thoſe who would remove to America, page 178.)

As to the proſpect which America opens with regard to morals; it muſt be an object of infinite importance to parents of reflection.

Nine out of ten of the inhabitants of the United States being employed in agriculture ;* their manners will be naturally more regular and innocent.§ Separated by their occupati-

* Morſe, page 82.

§ " Thoſe who labour in the earth are the choſen people of God, if ever he had a choſen people, whoſe breaſts he has made his peculiar depoſit for ſubſtantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that ſacred fire, which otherwiſe might eſcape from the face of the earth. Corruption of morals in the maſs of cultivators is a phænomenon of which no age or nation has furniſhed an example. It is the mark ſet on thoſe, who not looking up to heaven, to their own ſoil and induſtry, as does the huſbandman for their ſubſiſtence, depend for it on the caſualties and caprice of cuſtomers. Dependance begets ſubſervience and venality, ſuffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the deſigns of ambition. This, the natural progreſs and conſequence of the arts, has ſometimes perhaps been retarded by accidental circumſtances; but, generally ſpeaking, the proportion which the

on, the vicious have not the opportunity of countenancing and encouraging one another. The nature of their employment leads to regularity, and regularity is favourable to virtue. Their gains are not so fluctuating as in manufactures, and the labourer is seldom tempted by a run of high wages for a few months, to contract habits of dissipation, and intemperance, and sloth. Who would not wish to bring up his children under such circumstances?—Among the prisoners of Philadelphia (says Brissot), not one in ten is a native of that country. During my stay in this town, one robbery only has been committed; and this was by a French sailor.

8. *Every subject of a degenerated European state, is necessarily an instrument in diffusing through the kingdom, vanity, profligacy and corruption.*

What is the source of the degeneracy of those called the great, but the immense salaries which are lavished upon them out of the public purse, for doing nothing? And what is the origin of that pride and foppery which in

aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any state to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts, and is a good-enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption." Jefferson.

some

ſome countries is becoming a national characteriſtic?—What is it that ſanctions the moſt paltry paſſions, of the moſt contemptible of our ſpecies,—but the example of the great, and the periodical details of court dreſſes and birth-night equipages? What is the ſpring of that ſyſtem of corruption which enſlaves the people, which debaſes the legiſlative body,—which proſtitutes literature,—which converts the preſs into a curſe,—which benumbs public principle,—which hath even taught honeſt men to ſuſpect, that a good miniſter muſt be a knave,—what is the ſpring of theſe evils but the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoil plundered from a haraſſed and deluded nation? It is *the people* who uphold theſe dreadful and enormous evils:—it is they who feed the flame of pride and licentiouſneſs: and if they will not rouſe from their lethargy; there is nothing which men of principle can do, but ceaſe to be partakers in their guilt, and abandon them to the effects of their deluſion. And can men of principle be ſatisfied with affording ſuch encouragement to profligacy at home,—with being the inſtruments of tyranny and bloodſhed abroad? Even they have taken a part in ſuppreſſing the ſpirit of liberty in Europe, in carrying devaſtation and death to the Indies. They may remonſtrate:—but what avail their remonſtrances? They have no voice in the legiſlature: or if they had; the clamours of thoſe who fatten

 upon

upon the ſpoil, would drown their voice. They cannot ceaſe to be abettors; but by ceaſing to be ſubjects. To what ſtates theſe obſervations will apply; the inhabitants of thoſe ſtates muſt judge: and how far the conduct here recommended is the *duty* of any individual, his own conſcience muſt determine: but to many ſubjects of European princeſs, it will appear that conſcience juſtifies, nay even demands the ſacrifice.

9. *It is the moſt promiſing method which the religious diſſentients of Europe can adopt to awaken and convince their countrymen.*

It is their boaſt in ſome countries, that they have already done much in diffuſing the moſt important principles reſpecting the rights, the intereſts, and the duties of citizens, that they have gained many diſciples, but that they have become obnoxious to the oppreſſors of their country, and are vilified by their agents. The work therefore muſt be carried on by others. Tho' the outcry which they tell us is raiſed againſt them, hath excited an attention to their principles, and gained converts of men of a free and firm tone of mind; yet it will not convert the multitude. The diſſentients have laboured,—and others have happily entered into, and will accompliſh their labours. Seldom have any reformations been begun and completed by the ſame inſtruments. Nothing would

would now have an equal tendency to awaken the nations they belong to from their dream, with the emigrations of induſtrious and uſeful citizens. It would be like the ſeparation of ſerious chriſtians, from an antichriſtian church.

10 *Thoſe who are attached to the cauſe of truth, will have the proſpect of ſerving that cauſe.*

America preſents a fine field for the diffuſion of religious knowledge. The minds of the people are not ſhackled by articles and creeds. Their ſenſes are not captivated by the pomp of ſuperſtition,—nor their judgments fettered by the trammels of authority. In America, to contend for the faith, is not to contend for power:—to publiſh the truth, is not to preach ſedition. While you render to Cæſar, the things that are Cæſar's, you may render to God, the things that are God's.

SECONDLY.

OF THE DISCOURAGEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES TO BE SURMOUNTED BY PERSONS LEAVING EUROPE.

Theſe will readily ſuggeſt themſelves.

Perſons who are actuated by religious or by political conſiderations, muſt expect that their

undertaking will excite the joy, or the ridicule of their adverſaries. But if they cannot encounter this; they are but ill adapted to ſerve the cauſe of liberty and virtue, either in removing or in continuing where they are.——All muſt expect the moſt painful feelings in ſeparating themſelves from many to whom they are attached. But we plead for emigration, only upon the ſuppoſition that ſeveral families can agree to remove and to ſettle together. In that caſe many, probably, of the more valuable connections would ſtill be retained,—the bands of friendſhip between them would be drawn cloſer,—and to compenſate for the diſſolution of the more diſtant connections, new attachments would naturally be formed in the new ſettlement.——If it be propoſed to fix themſelves in the country; it muſt be expected that time and induſtry will be requiſite to procure accommodations equally convenient with thoſe to which they are accuſtomed in Europe. There muſt be diligence and vigour of mind to form an agreeable eſtabliſhment for themſelves and their families: but the effects of that diligence will be more ſubſtantial and permanent in America than Europe. We addreſs ourſelves not to perſons of indolent and diſſipated habits. We wiſh to be heard by thoſe only who prefer induſtry to idleneſs,—the calm enjoyment of the common bounties of Providence, to the tormenting purſuit of pre-eminence and

ſplendor,—and who would rather ſee their children inherit that virtue which is the offſpring of exertion, than entail upon them luxury and artificial diſtinctions, at the riſque of entailing profligacy, or pride, or inſignificance of character.

However, we ſhall not wonder if ſome, whoſe judgment we reſpect, and of whoſe good diſpoſitions we cannot entertain a doubt, ſhould at once pronounce our propoſal merely quixotiſm: for it is common to charge with quixotiſm, any ſingular undertaking, the means of accompliſhing which we do not diſcern,—the effects of which are, at firſt view, inveloped in darkneſs. But it cannot be quixotiſm to think of removing to a country, which hath welcomed millions of ſtrangers within a century and a half. It cannot be quixotiſm to direct one's attention, for inſtance, to a ſtate, which at the commencement of eleven years was a foreſt, and at the concluſion of them exhibited an extenſive ſettlement, divided into ſeven populous counties, affording the comforts of life to an hundred thouſand inhabitants*. We conceive, therefore, that men of ſober thought, who can appreciate the weight of important facts, will think themſelves juſtified in propoſing the queſtion, Whether America afford proſpects ſufficient to induce Europeans to forſake their native country? This

* Kentucky.

is

is the queſtion we propoſe: and we will purſue the proper means of getting it reſolved. There may be diſcouragements which we do not anticipate: there may be difficulties, which muſt be encountered by other talents than ſuch as are poſſeſſed by thoſe who may think of a removal. Let them ſuſpend their judgments. Let them be neither ſo attached to their native ſoil, as to think it incomparable:—nor ſo prejudiced in favour of any foreign ſoil as at once to give it the preference, without examining whether it be adapted to their taſtes, their powers, and their habits. However, the grounds upon which they would proceed are not inconſiderrble. They are ſimilar to thoſe, upon which their forefathers retired to the new world: but in the eye of prudence and caution, ſtill more juſtifiable; for they had to make a new and hazardous experiment of which their poſterity may reap the benefit; they had difficulties to encounter, which the latter cannot meet; and they have ſmoothed the way to more fortunate adventurers. It is true we ſtill indulge the hope, that Europe is not loſt. But when we conſider what a multitude are deeply intereſted in maintaing a ſyſtem of arifice and oppreſſion,—how many are irrecoverably ſwallowed up in the vortex of corruption,—how many more are drawn (to themſelves inſenſibly,) within its influence,—when we conſider how much the reaſon of the community is perverted

verted by the habitual contemplation of privilege without merit, of honour without reſpectability, and of popularity without virtue;—we fear, no radical reformation will ever be effected but by means of a REVOLUTION.

THIRDLY.

THE MOST ELIGIBLE COUNTRY FOR REMOVING TO.

We have hitherto been ſpeaknig upon the ſuppoſition that the United States of America are the country to which emigrants from Europe would think of removing. Were a ſingle family about to remove, from any other European ſtate; France, perhaps, would be prefered on account of its vicinity. But for a conſiderable number, the caſe is otherwiſe. Thoſe connections which endear to them, their native country, accompany in ſome degree the emigrants, and to the greater part of them, the difference between three hundred and three thouſand miles, can be little more than ideal: they would not think of viſiting the ſoil on which they were born in one caſe more than in the other. America, in itſelf, appears to us to be the more eligible ſituation for the following reaſons.

1. The language of France, would prove a great

great inconvenience to moſt of thoſe who would remove.

2. The Americans have preſerved all the good ſenſe of the Engliſh laws, both in the ſpirit of their deciſions, and in the form of proceedings.

3. The national character and manners of the French, would be leſs ſuitable than thoſe of the Americans, to the taſte and habits of their neighbours.

4. The French are more diſſolute than the people of the United States. The influence of the old government upon their manners, yet contiuues, and for a time will continue.

5. Land is more plentiful, more fertile, and cheaper in America than in France.

6. Should a national church continue eſtabliſhed in France; proteſtants will conſider it as a hardſhip to be compelled to ſupport the catholic religion,—and will certainly find themſelves more at eaſe in a country in which no contribution to ſupport religion is required, but what their own judgment and conſcience dictate.

FOURTHLY.

THE MEANS OF CARRYING A PLAN OF EMIGRATION INTO EXECUTION.

1. Let a tract of land (in Kentucky, for inſtance)

ſtance) be purchaſed, and conſidered as divided into ſhares of 100 or 1000 acres each. Upon taking actual poſſeſſion of it, let the ſhares be aſſigned to the ſeveral proprietors, according to ſome equitable rule. Let the choice depend upon lot, for example. Even Engliſhmen may venture upon this ſtep; as on account of the rapid increaſe of population, they may be morally certain of ſelling their ſhare hereafter at an advanced price; ſhould they not occupy it themſelves.

The following advertiſement appeared in the Gazetteer, of thurſday the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1792.

" To be ſold by private contract, by Meſſrs. Spurrier and Phipps, or exchanged for real or perſonal eſtates, at caſh price, two hundred thouſand acres of land, in fine ſituations in America; either together or in the following ſeparate parcels; viz.

30973 Acres of land lying in Fayette county, Kentucke one of the United States of North America, by patent, bearing date the 4th day of January, 1786.

22,000 Acres adjoining the above, and patened at the ſame time.

609 Acres Fayette county, ſtate of Kentucke, by patent, bearing date the 21ſt day of January, 1788.

2,000 ditto, ditto, 13th day of April, 1786,

2,500 ditto, ditto, ditto.

740 dit-

740 ditto, ditto, ditto.
2,500 ditto, ditto, 12th day of April.
7,987 ditto, ditto, ditto.
3,630 ditto, ditto, ditto.
14,950 ditto, ditto, ditto.
10,000 ditto, ditto, 11th ditto.
20,000 ditto, ditto, ditto,
3,000 Acres Ohio country, Virginia, 9th January, 1786.
4,000 Acres Harrifon County ditto.
75,000 Acres on the Waters of Green River, in Nelfon County, State of Kentucke located, furveyed and regiftered, and will be patented, at the option of the purchafer.

Enquire of Meffrs. Spurrier and Phipps, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-ftreet, London.

N. B. To prevent unneceffary applications, the very loweft cafh price is 2s. per acre, or 100l. per 1000 acres."

2. Let a committee be appointed by thofe who have become purchafers of land in America, or who have any views of removing, to make fuch enquiries as are neceffary to enfure the fuccefs of the undertaking. Let them enquire in what ftate are to be fonud the greateft natural, civil, and religious advantages. Let them inquire, for example, into the price of land in different fituations, and under different circumftances;—the expences of building,—the leading objects of the American farmer, in the fituation which would be fixed

upon

upon—his implements of husbandry,—the use made of newly invented machines for sowing, —hoeing,—threshing*. Let them enquire in what particular employments, hands are most wanted,—into the price of labour, provisions, household utensils†, &c. —what articles might be most advantageously taken from Europe. Let them obtain a statement of the comparative advantages of fixing in new land, and in land partly cleared and built upon. Let them inform themselves of the character of the in-

* There is a threshing machine invented by Colonel Anderson of Philadelphia, which delivers six bushels per hour, fit for the Miller. He expects to be able to deliver from one hundred to 130 bushels a day. Young's Annals of Agriculture, v. 17. p. 207. Mr. Patterson, of Wimbleton, (Old England) has a Mill which threshes from eight to 16 bushels of wheat per hour. (p. 198.) Charles Mordaunt, Esq. of Halsall, threshes and prepares wheat for the Miller, by a Mill, at the rate of 300 bushels a day. It is put in motion by a twelve feet water wheel, three feet wide, with nine feet head of water. (p. 363.) There is a machine invented by Capt. Bentinck, for drawing up trees by the roots, which, worked by four men, pulls large elms, without any previous preparation of the earth, in from twelve to twenty minutes, sufficiently high for carting off. (v. 18. p. 164.) One was sent to Florida.

† An answer to many of these questions may be found in the preceding observations, and account of Kentucky.

habitants in any given ſituation,—of the proportion which day-labourers bear to proprietors of land, and to tradeſmen,—whether the labouring claſs be ſo ignorant as the poor in this part of the world,---in what manner agreeme ts between ſervants and maſters leaving Europe muſt be framed, in order to have a legal confirmation in America, and upon what conditons they might be made, ſo as to be mutually ſatisfactory to the parties concerned. Indeed it would be of ſignal ſervice to obtain the hiſtory of a few ſettlers,---as, (for inſtance) the property with which they began,---the ſtate of their family, manner of living,---preſent ſtock. Let them, after having made theſe and other enquiries, propoſe ſuch a plan as appears to them moſt likely to ſuit the circumſtances of thoſe engaged in the undertaking.

3. To procure accurate information reſpecting the above and other particulars, and to fix upon a tract of country for the emigrants to ſettle in, or at leaſt to furniſh a chart and minute deſcription of that which he conſiders the moſt eligible; let the commitree be empowered to ſend if neceſſary a proper perſon for the purpoſe to America.

4. In order to carry this object into execution, let thoſe who are able, enter into a ſubſcription; or the expence may be defrayed by a rate of ſo much per cent upon all the land purchaſed by the aſſociation.

5. It

5. It would facilitate the removal of perſons poſſeſſed of little or no property; were every one who thinks of it, to ſubſcribe a ſmall ſum (ſay ſix-pence) weekly. Let the money thus ſubſcribed be lodged in the hands of ſome reſponſible perſon; and when the majority of the ſubſcribers determine to carry their intentions into execution, let the fund raiſed by theſe ſubſcriptions and the intereſt of them, be divided among the ſurviving ſubſcribers, to defray in part the expences of their voyage. If any ſubſcriber changing his intentions, determine to remain in Europe, or if any one having begun to ſubſcribe, diſcontinue his contribution; his money ſhould be forfeited.

6. Upon a removal, let all the members of the company enter into ſuch an agreement with one another, as will enſure mutual proviſion for their wants, and render the abilities and talents of every individual of ſervice to the whole. Some regulations ſhould be eſtabliſhed to prevent all the more eligible ſituations in the propoſed ſettlement from being engroſſed by thoſe of the greateſt property.

Perſons emigrating in this manner upon mature enquiry and deliberation, and forming a ſociety among themſelves, would probably never feel that diſſatisfaction which ſome have expreſſed in removing to America.

Senſible that perſons who feel themſelves inclined to adopt our views, will naturally wiſh

to see some account of the country to which we are calling their attention, we have subjoined the preceding short description of Kentucky, which is lately become one of the United States of America. The representations which are given of that territory, are pleasing, almost beyond parallel. We confess that we should doubt the truth of them, were it possible to doubt when the same facts are related by so many witnesses, so well qualified to give accounts which may be depended upon. Imlay has spent the greater part of his life in the country which he hath undertaken to describe. His accounts are likewise frequently minute and particular.---If picturesque and romantic descriptions of that country be ever given by travellers, we wish not to avail ourselves of such descriptions. What is enchanting to the visitant, may be comfortless to the settler. Our arguments stand upon a different foundation. If in casting our eyes over a country, we behold fertility of soil, simplicity of maners, equality of rights ;---upon these would we fix our attention.

The End of the Thoughts on Emigration.

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